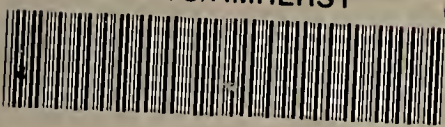


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What's In A Name?:

COUSIN GRACE HARTLEY HOWE

by Judith Paula Curry

(Editor's note: This current entry in the "What's In A Name?" series was researched and written by the able and competent Judy Curry. Ms. Curry is no stranger to the pages of the "Lizzie Borden Quarterly." Her first entry broke new ground with information about Lizzie's actress friend Nance O'Neil. {Volume II, Number 3 Lizzie Borden Quarterly, Page 4.} More recently she compared the O.J. Simpson case with Lizzie's ordeal. {Volume II Number 6, Page 11.} In this issue she sheds new light on a friend and cousin of Lizzie. Miss Lizbeth must have cared a great deal for Grace since she was mentioned twice in Lizzie's will. The two clauses are reproduced on Page 15.)



Louis McHenry Howe, Wife Grace Hartley Howe and Hartley Howe on election night, 1932

Photograph reproduced courtesy of Bertolet Archives

Grace Hartley Howe was born November 9, 1874, in Fall River, Massachusetts, the daughter of Mary Borden and James W. Hartley, a well-established physician. She graduated from high school and soon went on to college, becoming a Vassar student in the state of New York.

While visiting in Saratoga Springs during the summer of 1896, she met Louis McHenry Howe. They married two years later. Louis Howe, an only child, was born in Indianapolis, Indiana on January 14, 1871. His mother, Eliza Blake Ray, a

banker's daughter had married Edward Porter Howe who had been in the insurance business and held the rank of Captain in the Union Army.

After moving his family to New York, Edward P. Howe became a reporter for the *Saratogian* - a local Republican newspaper. He scrimped and saved and in 1881 Captain Howe bought the paper, renamed it *The Sun* and turned it into the county Democratic mouthpiece.

Louis Howe joined *The Sun* as a reporter at a young age. Later, due to his father's failing health, Louis took over the

paper. He and his wife Grace were living in a modest house in Saratoga Springs. The house had been a wedding present from his new mother-in-law. When the newspaper failed they were forced to mortgage the home to keep the paper alive. However, his creditors forced him out just about the time Grace had given birth to their first child.

Louis went to work for the New York Herald, and in 1911 began an association with Franklin D. Roosevelt, who at that time was a State Senator. During his reelection campaign, Mr. Roosevelt became ill and Louis Howe quit his newspaper work to manage the campaign that brought the Senator to victory. The two became inseparable.

ROOSEVELT NOMINATED FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

When Franklin D. Roosevelt was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Navy and went to Washington, Louis Howe was at his side as his personal secretary. In 1920, at the San Francisco Democratic National Convention, Franklin Roosevelt was nominated to be Vice President with James M. Cox at the head of the ticket. Louis Howe accompanied the candidate

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MISS LIZBETH BORDEN'S EDITOR SPEAKS

There is no better way to start the new year than with an old mystery! And what better mystery than the intriguing events surrounding Miss Lizbeth Borden.

We have much to offer this issue. Now we know that the weather is, arguably, the most frequently talked about subject. However, to all of us, the weather refers to an August 4, 1892 day in Fall River. William Masterton gives us the final word on that subject. Judy Curry expands our knowledge about a cousin of Lizzie's, Grace Hartley Howe, mentioned twice in Lizzie's will. You will also notice other familiar names, our standard departments, and a new poet! Enjoy

Oh yes, please check your label on the last page. If you see **Remaining Issues: 0**, don't let the hatchet chop you off from our fun and frolic. We save money by not mailing expiration notices. Your cooperation is requested. Renew your subscription today!

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THAT ELUSIVE HATCHET

Part One of Two: "The Hatchet - Yes"

By Paul Dennis Hoffman

(Editor's note: We welcome the return of Dr. Hoffman. As has been previously stated, he teaches a "Lizzie" course in his classroom. {The Lizzie Borden Quarterly, Volume III, Number 3, Page 3} Beginning with this issue he will be presenting a two-part study on the hatchet subject.)

Every Borden aficionado who considers himself or herself an expert on the murders of Abby and Andrew Borden in Fall River, Massachusetts on August 4 1892, has a theory as to who killed the Bordens. Of the most noted crime writers on this subject, most blame Andrew's daughter (and Abby's stepdaughter), Lizzie. Other authors, however, have interpreted the facts available at the time they studied the crimes to conclude that someone other than that prim Victorian maiden wielded the murder weapon. Edward Radin, in writing *Lizzie Borden: The Untold Story* (1961), accused Bridget Sullivan, the Bordens' live-in maid. Frank Spiering's publication, *Lizzie* (1984), puts the blame upon Emma, oldest daughter and stepdaughter of the Bordens, as the culprit. Arnold Brown's *Lizzie Borden: The Legend, the Truth, The Final Chapter* (1991), names the up-until-now unknown illegitimate son of Andrew, William Borden, as the criminal, and the latest book, David Kent's *Forty Whacks* (1992), states that author's belief that the killer will forever remain unknown.

Each author, whether he or she believes Lizzie the culprit or not, has speculated on how the bloody murder weapon was hidden, spirited out of the house or destroyed so that the jury in Lizzie's trial acquitted her in part because they believed that the handleless hatchet presented by the prosecution as the instrument of death was not the weapon that dispatched the Bordens.

Radin, for example, writes that Bridget, on one of the numerous excursions out of the house she was allowed to make shortly after the murders, hid the hatchet in the clothes that she was wearing and disposed of it somewhere off of the property. Victoria Lincoln, in one of the best-written of the Borden tomes, *A Private Disgrace* (1967), claims that Lizzie committed the crime and hid the gore-covered hatchet among the used and bloody sanitary napkins in a slop pail after killing Abby. Then, after Andrew was killed, she washed the hatchet, broke off the handle and hid the hatchet head in a place only someone familiar with the house would choose - only to have the local police discover it later.

Robert Sullivan's theory, stated in his lucid and scholarly work *Goodbye, Lizzie Borden* (1974) agrees that the handleless, ash-coated hatchet found by the police is indeed the murder weapon used by Lizzie, while Spiering believes that Emma, supposedly out of town visiting friends in the nearby town of Fairhaven, Massachusetts sneaked into town, killed Abby and Andrew and then drove her horse and carriage back to Fairhaven, disposing of the weapon somewhere along the 15-mile route. Finally, Arnold Brown says that William Borden took the hatchet with him as he escaped through the Bordens' back yard, and David Kent admits that he has no idea whether or not the handleless hatchet is the true murder weapon, and if not, where the real hatchet is.

All of the speculation concerning the hatchet has centered upon what happened to the weapon after the deeds were completed at 92 Second Street. No one has ever attempted to discuss how the hatchet found its way into the house before the murders took place. If Lizzie did do it, was the murder hatchet always in the house for use as a common tool? If so, where was it? Did the weapon originally come from the barn? Did the murderer bring it with her (or him) from somewhere off of the Borden property? How, in other words, did the hatchet get into the hands of the murderer in the first place?

Let the reader for a moment assume that Lizzie was the killer. At the time of

Abby's demise, the stepmother was upstairs in the guest room cleaning, since John Morse, Lizzie's uncle, had slept there the night before the murders. Lizzie claimed to have been on the first floor of the house ironing handkerchiefs. If Abby was killed on the second floor by Lizzie, where did she get the hatchet?

Bridget, washing the outside of the first floor windows, saw no one come out of the house at the time before the murders. Lizzie most likely would not have gone into the barn on the north side of the house to get the murder weapon. She almost certainly would not have attempted to use the front door to sneak into the barn, then return to the house on the murder morning, since exiting via the front door in broad daylight at about 9:00 A.M. would be foolish; there could be too many people out on busy Second Street to witness Lizzie's trip. On the other hand, she possibly could have sneaked out of the house using the side (north) door, while Bridget was on the other (south) side of the house washing those windows and talking to the maid of the

(Continued on Page 19)



The Hatchet - Perhaps

Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Fall River Historical Society

THE BIBLIOGRAPHIC BORDEN

by Lisa Zawadzki

Hello again, loyal readers. Once again I've been searching the globe for Borden goodies for you. I hope you enjoy this issue's selections. So, let's get started right away.

Murray, I.
Provan, C.
Rossleigh, Monica A.
Dixon, Jenny

The 'Lizzie Borden' Sign Of Increased Intracranial Pressure In Infants

Clinical Nuclear Medicine, June 1995: 560-561.

When I told you I searched the globe, I wasn't kidding. I got this strange item from a medical journal. This wasn't the actual article, but a mini-abstract of it. There was an address to write for the whole piece.

Apparently, these Australian researchers named the condition they were studying after Lizzie. From what I understand, the *Lizzie Borden sign* is a wedge-shaped split in an infant's skull caused by a subdural hematoma. There are several X-ray pictures of the affected skulls. You can see quite clearly why the authors chose the name they did. I do, however, wonder at their sense of humor.

It always amazes me where Lizzie will turn up. Theater, literature, music, television, and now the world of medicine. The lady does get around.

Flynn, Robert A.

The Borden Murders: An Annotated Bibliography

Portland, ME: King Philip Publishing Co., 1992

If you really want to see where Lizzie can turn up, make the effort to get this bibliography. This extensive list of materials (113 Pages) will provide many useful citations for the serious Borden reader. It is the best source for finding anything written or produced on the case. This is one of my favorite Borden books; I found so many new things with it.

The book was divided up by genres including different types of fiction, non-fiction, music, and stage productions. Most items were followed by a short description. There were even some illustrations, my personal favorites being the Borden coat of arms and a Japanese version of Lizzie with an axe.

My only quibble is that Mr. Flynn hasn't produced a supplement. Many items have appeared in the four years since this book's publication. We want more!

Fido, Martin

Lizzie Borden: Gave Her Parents Eighty-One Whacks

The Chronicle of Crime: the Infamous Felons of Modern History and Their Hideous Crimes

New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 1993: 90-91.

Miss Borden has appeared in yet another British crime collection. The author gave a fair two-page treatment which featured some well-known photographs. The approach, more or less, was that of a newspaper story reporting on the crime.

Fido seemed to feel that Lizzie was guilty, but remained free thanks to being a "lady" with a good lawyer and a sympathetic jury. Four conceivable suspects were named, but Lizzie was viewed as the only real possibility. A handy box with "the case against Lizzie" was provided alongside the article.

There were a few mistakes; Lizzie was said to have been in the loft eating apples. (By her own admission, Lizzie ate pears in the loft.) Fido then went on to cite the lack of apple cores in the loft as proof against her!

Lizzie's picture was on the book's cover too, once again keeping company with the likes of Manson and Capone.

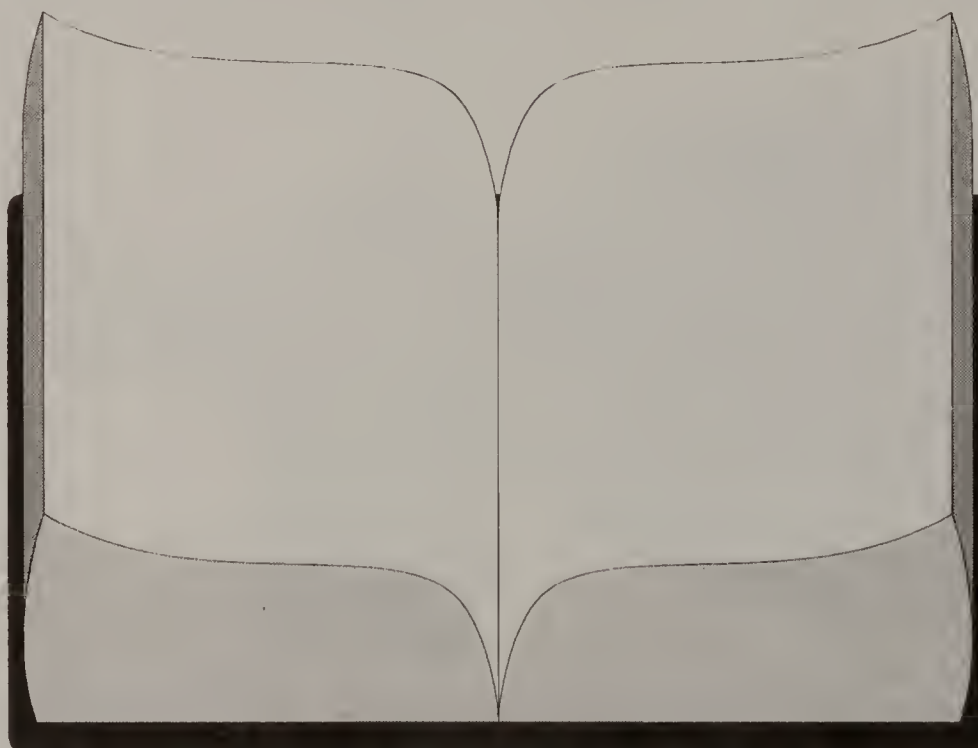
Clark, Tim
Juhasz, Victor

We Gather Together

Yankee, November 1993: 82-87.

A great Thanksgiving poem that included Lizzie! Clark assembled his favorite New Englanders, past and present, for a holiday meal. Accompanied by a fantastic picture of Miss Borden at the table with other Yankee dignitaries, this humorous piece is sure to please Borden watchers. In case you are curious, Lizzie was elected to carve a turkey cooked by Julia Child. I don't think you need me to tell you what they have her cutting the old Tom up with.

That's all for now. See you in the next issue. Until then, happy reading.



LIZBITS

by Neilson Caplain

There are just above two hundred entries in my card file of Lizzie Borden material, with very little duplication. The latter are caused by different editions of the same title, e.g., hard cover and paperback. The listings are also on computer, for easy retrieval by category.

The collection includes books, both hard and soft cover, magazines, newspapers, cassettes, and video tapes, as well as my own files of miscellaneous material and scrap books.

There are more comprehensive libraries of Lizzie Borden material, at least three that I know of. Nevertheless, this summary of my holdings may prove of interest, and of some use, to Quarterly readers.

There are seventeen full-length non-fiction books. Nine of these are by well-known authors, such as Porter, Radin, Spiering, Sullivan, Williams, Brown, Kent and Victoria Lincoln.

These books form the foundation of any library focused on Lizzie Borden. Even a cursory review would open your eyes to the wide-ranging analyses of the murders, leading to conclusions as to who wielded the axe. There are both accusers and defenders of Lizzie. Some point the finger at others, such as Emma and a mysterious illegitimate son. All lead to an enormous adventure into good reading.

The above does not include ten books by Lester Pearson, the most prolific writer on the subject. His works range from scant mention of the Borden case to full-length treatment.

Mr. Pearson also is represented with mention in two other tomes, one of which is William Roughead's *Chronicle of Murder*. Mr. Roughead, an Englishman, was an admirer of Mr. Pearson and the two conducted a sustained correspondence across the Atlantic. At one point Mr. Roughead came to America especially to visit with Pearson. My copy of the book is the first received in America as inscribed by Robert A. Flynn.

The library includes an original of the Porter book, *The Fall River Tragedy*. Many writers have reported that Lizzie bought up the entire issue. Victoria Lincoln said that she had to wait forty years before she saw her first copy at the Library of Congress. Nevertheless, it is now conceded that there are many copies around; I last heard that at least fifty are estimated to exist.

Of the fanciful works of fiction there is included *A Study in Conjecture* by Mrs. Belloc Lowndes. A more modern work is *Lizzie Borden* by Elizabeth Engstrom.

I have recorded six reference books, consisting of bibliographies, source books, witness statements, and inquest testimony. The last mentioned is also on cassettes. The witness statements and inquest testimony were reproduced by the Fall River Historical Society.

No Lizzie Borden library could be considered complete without general histories of the city of Fall River. I have five of such: Phillips, *History of Fall River* in three fascicles (the word used by the author); Fenner's *History of Fall River*; *Of Men and Money* by Barbara Ashton; *Boss' Pictorial History of Fall River*; and *Life on the Stream* by Alice Brayton. Each of these include mention of Lizzie. Indeed, Phillips devotes a full chapter to the

subject, and this chapter was reproduced in a book issued by Robert Flynn. Mr. Phillips was convinced of her innocence based on knowledge gained when he was assistant to Lawyer Jennings at the 1893 trial.

Lizzie has inspired at least eight works of poetry, nine plays, and five items relating to music. The latter includes L.P. records, cassettes, as well as a written score.

In the poetry category the library boasts of a very rare copy of *Driftwood* (courtesy of Bob Flynn). This book contains a collection of poems by one A.L. Bixby, an amateur writer, including *To Lizzie*.

By far, the largest number of books in the library consist of those in which there is 'Brief Mention' of Lizzie (limited to a column or so) and those that contain 'Short Articles' (from one to perhaps 30 pages).

A recap reveals about twenty-five in the 'Brief Mention' category. By way of example there are just two or three word citations in the Anne Rice vampire books *Queen of the Damned*, and *The Vampire Companion*. Another example of scant mention is *Captain Danger*, a book about the Fall River Line of steam-boats.

Of some sixty books in the two categories twenty-one bear the word Crime in the title, e.g., *Crimes That Shook America*; a similar number the word Murder, e.g., *Great American Murder Trials*. Several term themselves Encyclopedias, such as *The Encyclopedia of American Crime*. Women are represented in at least three books, *Such Women Are Deadly*; *Women Who Kill*; and *Women Are Here To Stay*.

In the magazine category there are listed four issues of the hard cover *American Heritage*, and five issues of *Yankee Magazine*. Notable among others are ones of national circulation, such as *People Magazine*, *National Review* and the *New York Times*. Surprisingly there are articles in the *American Philatelist* (of interest to stamp collectors) and *Rutgers University Magazine*.

There is mention of six items under Newspapers. These consist of a June 29, 1893 issue of *Leslie's Weekly*, the reproduction of the Emery scrap book, the *National Enquirer*, and two issues of *Victorian Vistas*, the last named being locally issued books reproducing newspaper articles of the era.

Concluding, we have the Miscellaneous items, embracing cassettes, video tapes, my own files and scrap books, and sundry other entries. The cassettes include *The Best of Old Time Radio* and *Nostalgic Radio*; *I Love A Mystery*. The video tapes include the movie, *The Legend of Lizzie Borden* and the 1994 production *A Century of Fascination*.

An Apology

Arnold Brown did not ask for an apology, but one is due and is herewith given. My comments about Mr. Brown's book in the July Quarterly were flawed and his comments and corrections in the ensuing issue are well taken and appreciated.

By William Schley-Ulrich

(Editor's note: Mr. Schley-Ulrich has taken a short respite from his Sherlockian labours and asks some questions about what must be the world's most talked about subject, the weather. However, when our fraternity discusses the weather, it is generally a bit more specific in nature. William relates what the experts said about the weather and we wonder again. Not to worry though, the article on the facing page should quench all doubts. Mr. Schley-Ulrich mentioned he had this article "rattling-around" in his desk for many moons. How fortunate for us he located it at this time. It makes the perfect compliment for the next page)

The temperature of the weather on August 4, 1892, has long been a subject for open debate by Bordenians. This mini-mystery is one of the many unanswered questions surrounding the brutal murders of Andrew and Abby Borden that occurred over a century ago.

Just how hot was it?

Throughout the trial, the prosecution remained steadfast in its assertion that it was too hot in the loft for anyone to remain there for the length of time stated by Lizzie. Their questions were leading and intimidating. Several witnesses testified that it had been very hot in the barn that day. It was a vital part of the prosecution's case to prove that Lizzie was in the house on the morning of Andrew Borden's murder, and not in the barn as she claimed.

The Fall River Library provided me with a Xerox copy of the weather reported in the Fall River Herald for August 4, 1892. It reads as follows:

Herald Office, 2 o'clock p.m.

Miniature Almanac :

6 a.m. temperature 66 degrees.

Noon, 74 degrees.

2 p.m., 76 degrees.

Highest recorded temperature for this day was 78 degrees.

As additional confirmation of the official weather for that day, Professor Jules R. Ryckebusch stated, "I have examined the National Weather Bureau's records for August 1892. There was no heat wave the week of the killings, except perhaps in Lizzie's heart. The average temperature on August 4 was 75 degrees Fahrenheit. The highest was 80 degrees."¹

District Attorney William H. Moody's trial opening for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

".... this day, August 4th, 1892, was one of the hottest days of the last summer in this vicinity. The loft of the barn was almost stifling in the intensity of its heat."²

"At 10:40, Mrs. Kelly left her house for a dental appointment. As she passed the Borden home she saw Mr. Borden coming around the house from the side entrance and fumbling with some keys. At 10:42 Mr. Borden was trying unsuccessfully to unlock the front door. They exchanged morning greetings. Mrs. Kelly's sprightly, 'Good morning. It's been another hot day,' was answered tersely by the frustrated seventy-year-old man wilting in the heat, unable to get into his house."³

".... she had gone to the barn loft.... which on a sultry August morning was hotter than Gehenna."

".... the axing to death of Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Borden in the house in Fall River, Massachusetts on a brutally hot morning in August, 1892."⁴

Patrolman William H. Medley testified:

Q. "Did you notice the temperature of the loft when you went up?"

A. "It was very hot."⁵

Captain Philip Harrington testified:

".... I threw the hay from one side of the barn to the other and examined it thoroughly as I thought. At that time the temperature in degrees I cannot say, but it was extremely hot."

".... it was very disagreeable breathing there because of the dust. It was suffocating hot."⁶

City Marshal Rufus B. Hilliard testified:

Q. "What sort of day was it with reference to heat on the fourth day of August last?"

A. "Very hot."

Q. "How was the heat in the loft?"

A. "Well, it was extremely warm there, almost suffocating heat."⁷

Supporting Date for FIGURE 1 on Facing Page

DATE	ΔT	DATE	ΔT	DATE	ΔT	DATE	ΔT
July 21	- 5	July 27	+11	Aug 1	-6	Aug 7	+1
July 22	+ 5	July 28	+6	Aug 2	-8	Aug 8	+4
July 23	+ 7	July 29	+2	Aug 3	-4	Aug 9	+11
July 24	+9	July 30	+4	Aug 4	+6	Aug 10	+16
July 25	+13	July 31	-5	Aug 5	+3	Aug 11	+15
July 26	+14			Aug 6	+4	Aug 12	+3

(Continued on Page 8)

Weather We Do: *Some Like It Hot!*

By William L. Masterton

(Editor's note: For the second issue in a row we are fortunate to have an article by William Masterton. His work is characterized by research and attention to detail. To the best of my knowledge, it was he who first voiced the concept that August 4, 1892 was not the hottest day of the year. It was during the 1992 Bristol Community College Lizzie Borden Conference in his presentation "The Borden Case: Myths or Facts." It was obvious that he had done his homework. We welcome him now to, hopefully, stamp 'finis' on the subject.)

One of the most enduring (and endearing) legends of the Borden case concerns the temperature in Fall River on August 4, 1892. Almost every author who has written a book about the murders insists that they took place on an atrociously hot day. Indeed, it seems to have gotten hotter over the years.

Consider:

Edwin Porter: (1893) "the hot sunshine of an exceptionally warm midsummer day"

Edmund Pearson: (1937) "a sultry day of typical August weather; a day, as the hours advanced toward noon, of almost intolerable heat"

Victoria Lincoln: (1967) "August 4, 1892 was hot even at dawn; it became the hottest day in memory for all who lived in -- (Fall River)"

Robert Sullivan: (1974) "The newly-risen sun was blazing hot, signaling that the severe heat wave which had prostrated Fall River for three days was continuing."

Frank Spiering: (1984) "In Fall River, temperatures were hotter than anyone remembered, well over 100°."

Alas for the legend, the facts are otherwise. This has been pointed out in at least three articles^{1,2,3} published in the past five years. Edward Thibault noted that when Andrew Borden came home that day, he put on a cardigan sweater; Lizzie asked him if he wanted her to close the sitting room window. These actions

are hardly consistent with temperatures in the vicinity of 100°. Moreover, none of the area newspapers for the week including August 4 mentioned a heat wave.

The facts are that at 11 A.M. on August 4, 1892, when Andrew Borden was murdered, the temperature was 78° F ± 2°.

This conclusion is based on data from three sources:

1. The *Fall River Daily Herald*, which quoted temperatures of 74° at 8 A.M. and 80° at noon⁴. Interpolation gives 78° at 11 A.M.
2. The *Fall River Evening News*, which noted that, "Remington and Davol's thermometer (in Fall River) registered 79° at 11 A.M."
3. The United States Signal Service, where a voluntary observer gave Fall River temperatures of 67° at 7 A.M. and 83° at 2 P.M.⁵

Depending upon one's point of view, August 4, 1892 might be described as a "hot day" (compared, let us say, to Christmas). It would probably be more meaningful to call it a "typical midsummer day;" the normal high at Fall River in early August is 82°.

There have been occasional literature references to temperature data supplied by the National Weather Bureau. In particular, Spiering attributes his 100°+ value to this source. So far as I can tell, the NWB, which in 1892 was a division of the Department of Agriculture, did not publish temperature data for Fall River. They did, however, give daily temperatures for July and August, 1892 in Boston⁶. Figure 1 shows the difference (T) between the actual temperature on a particular day and the "normal" temperature for that day. The heavy horizontal line separates positive numbers (hotter than normal days) from negative numbers (relatively cool days). Clearly there were two heat waves that summer, centered around July 26 and August 10. In contrast, the temperature was close to normal in New England during the week of August 4.

What, you may ask, was the source of the legend that the Borden murders were committed during a heat wave? William Moody, in his opening address for the prosecution at Lizzie's trial (June 1893) said, "August 4, 1892 was one of the hottest days of last summer in this vicinity." Later, District Attorney Knowlton, in his summation, referred several times to the temperature. At one point he said, "... (the barn loft) was the hottest place in all this hot day, this hot city, this hot country." Later he claimed that the murders occurred, "on the hottest morning of the year". Moody and Knowlton were trying to buttress their contention that Lizzie lied about going to the barn loft that morning to look for sinkers and eat pears. In the process, they created a legend that has endured for a century. Indeed, it still lives; see, for example, page 11 of the July 1996 *Lizzie Borden Quarterly*. Somehow or other, it seems as though it should have been sweltering hot that day even though it wasn't.

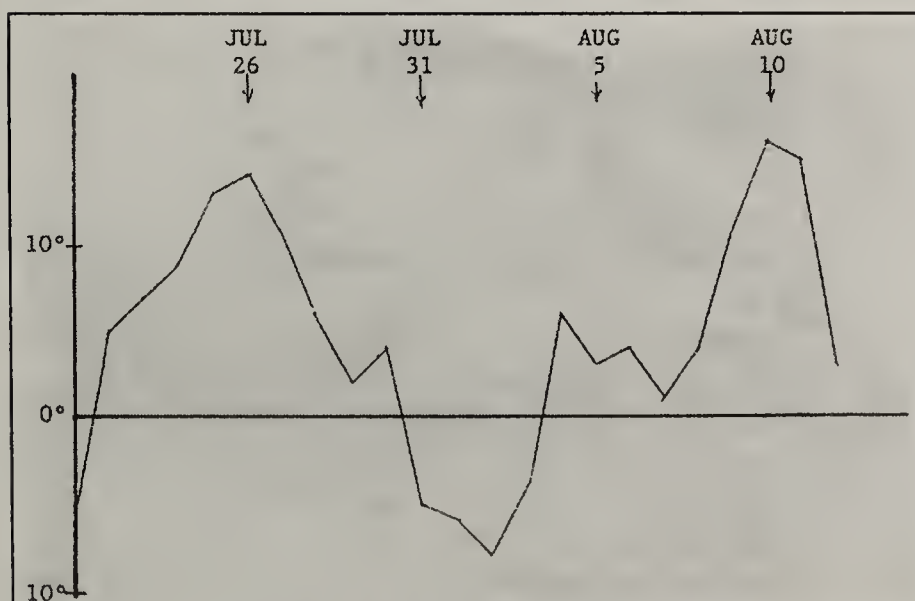


FIGURE 1: The difference between the mean daily temperature for Boston (1892) and the normal mean (calculated from data for previous years)

(Continued on next page)

REFERENCES

- ¹ William L. Masterton, Proceedings Lizzie Borden Conference, pp 197-200, August, 1992.
- ² Edward Thibault, Lizzie Borden Quarterly, October, 1993.
- ³ George Quigley, president TILBA; communication to new members, 1996.
- ⁴ Quoted correctly by Thibault (ref. 2), incorrectly by WLM (ref. 1).
- ⁵ United States Signal Service. (See next page.)
- ⁶ U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Monthly Weather Review*, Volume XX, 1892, pp 223-227.

Weather We Don't: JUST HOW HOT WAS IT?

(Continued from Page 6)

- Q. "When you got through looking for lead, did you come down?"
- A. "No sir. I went to the west window over the hay, to the west window, and the curtain was slanted a little. I pulled it down."

- Q. "Was the window open?"
- A. "I think not."
- Q. "Hot?"
- A. "Very hot."

- Q. "... I don't suppose you stayed there any longer than was necessary?"
- A. "No sir, because it was too close."
By way of contrast, one trial witness, Thomas Barlow, had this to say about the weather on that day:
- Q. "Now did I understand you to say it was cooler up in the barn than it was anywhere else?"
- A. "Yes, sir."
- Q. "... what do you suppose made that so much cooler than the rest of the country?"
- A. "I couldn't say. It is always warmer in the house, I should say than outdoors."
- Q. "And you should think that the barn loft was cooler than anyplace you found that day?"
- A. "Yes, sir."⁹

Closing argument of District Attorney Knowlton:

"She said she remained up in the barn about a half an hour. I then asked her what she meant by 'up in the barn'. She said, 'I mean up in the barn upstairs, sir.' She said after she had been up there about half an hour she came down again, went into the house, and found her father lying on the lounge.

".... I assert that the story is simply absurd, I assert that that story is not within the bounds of reasonable possibilities.

"... there is not a man of you does not remember that day. There is not a man of you that does not remember the hour of the day when the tidings of that murder were flashed to you. There is not a man of you that does not remember that day, which was

within four days of being the very midsummer day of one of the hottest summers within our remembrance, was hot to a degree by which this very day upon which I am talking to you is cool and comfortable by comparison.

".... you are asked to believe that, being engaged in an occupation which of itself would be heating, the ironing of those handkerchiefs, she left that job on the eve of its completion, and went out of the house and up in the barn, to the hottest place in Fall River, and there remained during the entire time that was covered by the absence of Bridget upstairs.

".... this was at the hour of the day when the sun is right over the barn roof. This was a building that had been shut up for a year and no air allowed to get to it.

"This was a place hot beyond the power of description, and yet you are asked to believe that this woman chose that place, that time and that hour to be out of the way when the assassin should strike the blow that killed her father.

".... it was necessary that she should be in the loft. It was not only the hottest place in all this hot day, this hot city, this hot country; it was the only place where she could put herself and not have known what took place.

".... she tells that gentleman that came to talk with her she went upstairs in the barn, and remained for 20 minutes.

"That story is not true. That alibi will not stand."¹⁰

If Andrew Borden was dispatched around 11 a.m. on the morning in question, the temperature at that time would have been in the neighborhood of 72 degrees - hardly a heat wave! How can we account for the statements made by authors, trial witnesses, police officials, two district attorneys and the defendant, Lizzie Borden herself?

Did the players in the legend of Lizzie testify truthfully about the weather, or were they so influenced by the prosecution that they deviated from the truth?

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UNITED STATES SIGNAL SERVICE
DIVISION OF TELEGRAMS AND REPORTS FOR THE BENEFIT OF COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE

VOLUNTARY OBSERVATION METEOROLOGICAL RECORD for the month of August 1892

Place of observation: Fall River County of Bristol State of Mass.
Latitude 41.42 Longitude 71.09 Height of ground above sea, in 200 feet

Day	7 A.M.	2 P.M.	9 P.M.	Barometer	Direction	Force	Clouds	Remarks
63	67	67	67	30.0				
64	68	64	64	30.0				
65	76	73	73	30.0				
66	73	75	75	30.0				
67	75	75	75	30.0				
68	82	70	70	30.0				
69	77	75	75	30.0				
70	80	75	75	30.0				
71	80	77	77	30.0				
72	80	77	77	30.0				
73	82	75	75	30.0				
74	80	77	77	30.0				
75	80	77	77	30.0				
76	80	77	77	30.0				
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96	80	77	77	30.0				
97	80	77	77	30.0				
98	80	77	77	30.0				
99	80	77	77	30.0				
100	80	77	77	30.0				

C.P.S. Remington
Voluntary Observer

Premiere Publication Event

We are deeply indebted to our publisher, Jules R. Ryckebusch, for the above document. Jules entreated the United States Weather Bureau for an official document that would put the temperature matter to rest. The microfilm reproduction has been converted to a digital format and made as presentable as possible. Even so, legibility is not as good as we wished. Keep in mind however that it is more than 100 years old and was preserved in a format that does not provide sharp, clear copies. However, since this should be of great interest to the readership, it is herewith reproduced.

In 1892, accumulating this data was the responsibility of the *United States Signal Service*, a division of Telegrams and Reports for the Benefit of Commerce and Agriculture. This reproduction is the Meteorological record for the month of August, 1892, Place of Observation: Fall River, County of Bristol, State of Mass., Latitude 41.42, Longitude 71.09 and Height of ground above sea, 200 feet. The instructions along the bottom of the form read in part, "This form provides for temperature observations as follows. Three times a day at 7 A.M., 2 and 9 P.M. The data was compiled daily by a volunteer observer. Unfortunately, I cannot quite make out the name of the person who took the daily readings, however, it looks like, and may be, C.P.S. Remington.

The first column of numbers is the dry bulb temperature at 7:00 A.M., the second at 2:00 P.M. and the third at 9:00 P.M. Each row contains the readings and related data for each day of the month. Consequently, the fourth row documents August 4, 1892 readings which are 67°, 83° and 75° respectively. With this as a guide, not only was August 4 not the hottest day of the year, it was not even the hottest day in August! As can easily be seen, there were three hotter days, (August 10, 11 and 17). There was no precipitation. It was a clear day. There was a southwesterly wind all day and the greatest wind velocity per hour was 7.

Maynard F. Bertolet, Editor

SHERLOCK HOLMES AND THE LIZZIE BORDEN CONNECTION

CONCLUSION

By William Schley-Ulrich

THE TRIAL

"She is either the most injured or the blackest of monsters. She either hacked her father and stepmother to pieces with the furious brutality of the ogre in Poe's story of the Rue Morgue, or some other person did it and she suffers the double torture of losing her parents and being wrongfully accused of their murders."

Julian Ralph, *New York Sun*,
Opening-day story of the trial

June 5, 1893 Monday

The trial took place at the Superior Courthouse in New Bedford, Massachusetts, with Justice Albert Mason presiding. He was assisted by Associate Justices Caleb Blodgett and Justin Dewey. The seating in the courthouse was increased from 182 to 219 seats to accommodate the anticipated overflow of spectators and reporters. Hosea M. Knowlton secured the services of William H. Moody, the former district attorney for the eastern district of Massachusetts, to assist him in the prosecution. Andrew Jennings retained George D. Robinson for the defense. Robinson had previously served three one-year terms as the governor of Massachusetts.

Prior to the trial, Lizzie was transferred from the County Jail to the New Bedford House of Correction, just two blocks away from the courthouse. On the day of the trial, she walked into the courtroom looking every inch the bereaved and falsely accused daughter. She was wearing an austere black dress, with a large-brimmed black straw hat trimmed with blue feathers and velvet rosettes. She was elegantly attired for the most important role of her life.

During his opening statement, Moody carelessly threw an open bag on the prosecution table, and out tumbled the hideous, fleshless skulls of the victims. Lizzie Borden gasped, covered her eyes and fell against the police matron in a dead faint. The defense requested a recess which was granted.

Sherlock Holmes was present for the entire trial. He refused an introduction to Lizzie, stating he wished to maintain his objectivity. To preserve his anonymity he sat in the press section disguised as a reporter. He took copious notes as the trial developed and secretly met with the defense counsel at the conclusion of each day's proceedings. As the trial progressed,

Sherlock Holmes had virtually no advice to offer the defense counsel; a situation that caused obvious pain to Robinson, who was heard to grumble about Holmes' 'useless presence'.

When Robinson's comments were relayed to Holmes near the conclusion of the trial, he shrugged his shoulders and said, "The defense has been quite capable. There has been little for me to do, really, but sit here and watch the prosecution bury itself."

Eli Bence, a drug clerk, was summoned to the stand and stated he had been an employee at D.R. Smith's drugstore for the past fourteen years. Following Bence's initial comments, Robinson objected to any further testimony from the witness and the matter was relegated to chambers. After hearing arguments from both sides, Chief Justice Mason decided to exclude the testimony of the drug clerk. His decision scored heavily for the defense.

Annie White had been the stenographer at the Borden inquest. When she was called to testify, the defense issued another challenge. After a short discussion behind closed doors, the court again ruled in favor of the defense. Justice Mason explained the testimony at the inquest was an involuntary statement of the defendant, and therefore, inadmissible for the purposes of this trial.

The stenographer's notes regarding Lizzie Borden's testimony at the inquest would not be read to the jury. This proved to be a killing blow for the prosecution.

June 20, 1893 Tuesday

The trial ended on Tuesday, June 20. It had lasted fifteen days and produced 1930 pages of testimony. Robinson's summation was no less than brilliant. At the end of his impassioned remarks, he pointed to his demure client and said, "Eyes that cannot weep are the saddest

eyes of all." He was referring, no doubt, to the tearless countenance of his client throughout the trial.

Lizzie was asked by Mason if she wished to make a statement to the jury before they were sequestered. She rose, bowed to the court and said, "I am innocent. I leave it to my counsel to speak for me." These were the only words spoken by her during the entire trial.

Six years before, George Robinson, then governor, had appointed Justice Justin Dewey to the Superior Court of Massachusetts for life. Dewey's charge to the jury had all the earmarks of a plea from the defense. After the trial he was



harshly criticized by the public and his peers for abdicating his responsibility as an impartial trial judge.

The jury deliberated for an hour and six minutes. When they returned to the courtroom, Clerk Borden asked, "Gentlemen of the jury, have you agreed upon a verdict?"

Foreman Richards arose from his chair.

"We have," he said.

"And what is that verdict?"

The courtroom held its collective breath.

"Not guilty!"

Lizzie Borden fell back into her chair and, at long last, burst into tears. She quickly regained her composure and grasped her attorney's arm.

"Take me home, Mr. Jennings," she whispered, "please take me home. I want to sleep in the old place tonight." Lizzie was given a tumultuous ovation as she left the courthouse.

The great ordeal was finally over. Lizzie Borden had won the day.

*

Lizzie Borden returned to Fall River on the 8:15 train from New Bedford. She was persuaded by Charles and Marianna Holmes to spend her first day of freedom at their home. A large group had gathered that day in front of her home on Second Street, hoping to get a glimpse of Fall River's newest celebrity. When she failed to make an appearance, a series of whistles and cat-calls were evidence of the crowd's disappointment.

*

Unknown to Lizzie, a dinner party to celebrate her acquittal had been arranged by Lizzie's closest friends at the home of Charles and Marianna Holmes.

Sherlock Holmes had taken refuge behind the locked doors of the library and did not attend. Later that evening, when the guests had departed, he was joined by his cousin and Marianna. The detective sat in front of the empty fireplace, watching as Charles filled two tall glasses from a decanter on the sideboard. The maid entered and placed a coffee tray on a side table.

"I can't understand, Sherlock," said Charles, shaking his head, "why you insist Lizzie was guilty." He handed the detective one of the drinks. "After all, she was acquitted by the jury. What motive could she possibly have for doing away with her stepmother and father in such a terrible manner?"

"There is no greater disaster than greed," said Sherlock Holmes, sipping his brandy.

"That sounds like a quotation."

"It is."

"Whose?"

"Lao-tsu."

"Never heard of him."

"Few people have, but it is not surprising since his books are few in number. But then, who remembers Thackery beyond Vanity Fair?"

"It is beyond belief," said Marianna, "that this sweet child is capable of committing such an atrocious act. Isn't it just possible you have been mistaken all along?"

Holmes arched his eyebrows. "I understand the Borden estate is valued at a half-million dollars."

"You are saying her only motive was the money."

"One of the most winning women I ever met," said he, "poisoned her children for the insurance money." He arose,

placed his empty glass on the table, and began to pace the room. "I can understand it is most difficult for you, as close friends of Lizzie, to realize that a dear friend committed this abominable act. When I first arrived in Fall River I promised you I would do my utmost to get to the heart of the matter. I have been true to my word. The facts at my disposal are irrefutable; Lizzie, and Lizzie alone, had the sole opportunity to murder her father and stepmother.

"Much of the evidence tends to be circumstantial, but we cannot rightfully assume it isn't true. I know you were close to the Borden family and my explanation may tend to disillusion you. For that I am heartily sorry. But it has never been my habit to hide the true facts from anyone who might take an intelligent interest in them. I will lay an account of my reasoning before you in its proper order, listing the various points that guided my decision. Please feel free to question me if I fail to make everything perfectly clear."

He continued. "The time factor is critical. Lizzie had, at best, about twenty minutes to do a complete clean-up after she murdered her father. It has been suggested she committed the crime in the nude, but I consider this theory far-fetched. Nice Christian girls in today's New England don't run around the house without their clothes. Whatever other faults Lizzie had, immodesty wasn't among them.

"This is the way I think it happened. Prior to the murder, probably the day before, Lizzie went into her stepmother's bedroom and removed two dresses. She concealed them in her bedroom closet, along with the hatchet, until she was ready to use them. When she murdered Abby, she placed one of the dresses over her own to protect it from the bloodstains.

"A dust cap, gloves and a pair of old socks to cover her shoes would have completed the ensemble. Time was of the essence! Lizzie could don such an outfit in a minute and remove it in half that time. If she got any blood on her body she could wash it off in the sink room, a short distance away."

"Where did she get the hatchet?" Charles asked. "Did she use one of the old ones the police found in the cellar?"

"I doubt it. The medical expert from Harvard testified he could not find any trace of blood on any of the hatchets submitted to him for examination. The hatchet Lizzie used was probably a new one. It is my belief she purchased the weapon when she visited her friends in Marion, a short time before the crime."

"Why couldn't she buy the hatchet right here in Fall River?" queried Charles.

Sherlock shook his head. "Too risky. Someone in town might have recognized her." He placed his fingertips together.

"On that fateful morning, Lizzie slipped one of the stolen dresses over her own, entered the guest room and proceeded to dispatch her stepmother. The outer dress, of course, protected her clothing from blood stains."

"Just a minute," said Marianna, "you said she took two dresses belonging to Abby. Why not take Emma's or Bridget's, or for that matter, why not use one of her own?"

Sherlock smiled. "Lizzie had to put Abby's dress on over her own to protect it from bloodstains. In order to do this the garment she used had to be much larger. The only dress that fit the bill was Abby's. Remember, she was about seventy pounds heavier than Lizzie. It was a simple matter, no more difficult than slipping a waterproof on or off. After murdering Mrs.

Borden, Lizzie removed her bloody outer garments and concealed them, along with the hatchet. A likely hiding place would have been the closet next to the front entry. She had little fear of detection. Bridget was washing the outside windows on the other side of the building. There was no one else in the house.

"When Andrew arrived home later that morning, he went into the sitting room and fell asleep on the settee. Bridget went up to her room to take a nap. Lizzie donned the second dress of her stepmother's and went downstairs. After removing the hatchet from the hall closet, she entered the sitting room and bashed in her father's skull."

Marianna shuddered. "Please, Sherlock! Must you be so graphic?"

"My apologies, Marianna, I was temporarily influenced by a vision of that fateful moment in my mind's eye."

"What happened then?" asked Charles.

"After committing the second murder, Lizzie slipped out of Abby's dress, collected the rest of the bloody clothing along with the hatchet, and exited the house through the side entry. She dropped her bundle down the abandoned well, returned to the house and summoned Bridget from the attic bedroom."

"What are your thoughts," asked Marianna, "on the note Abby received that morning from a sick friend?"

"The alleged note," said Sherlock Holmes, "was a crucial piece of evidence for the prosecution. Unfortunately, they didn't capitalize on it. The question is, did the note really exist? Neither the sender nor the messenger were ever found. Why did Lizzie want her father to think Abby was out of the house? There was only one reason. To prevent her father from going upstairs and discovering the murdered body of his wife."

There was a brief silence. "Do you think," asked Charles, "that Bridget was her accomplice?"

"Not initially. After the murders it is my opinion Lizzie offered Bridget a large sum of money to get rid of the bloody clothing and the hatchet. I'm sure the offer was a generous one. Probably more money than she had ever seen in her entire lifetime. Bridget had another very good reason for keeping quiet; if she refused to help Lizzie, her own life might be forfeited."

Marianna put down her coffee cup, "Isn't it possible Bridget was the real culprit?"

"I think not," replied Holmes, "she had no motive and gained nothing from the demise of the Bordens. If anything, she could have suffered the loss of her position as maid. We have no evidence Bridget ever had a serious falling out with her employers, so I think we can safely rule her out as a prime suspect."

"Was Emma involved?" asked Marianna.

"Not before the fact, no," he replied. "Lizzie probably confessed to her sister sometime after her return from Fairhaven."

"One of the crucial elements in the case was the statement made by the police matron. Hannah Reagan's testimony damned Lizzie. I am confident the matron truthfully related the conversation she overheard between Lizzie and Emma. There was no reason for Mrs. Reagan to lie. And I don't," sniffed Sherlock, "for a moment accept the bribery story you told me when I first arrived. It simply doesn't cut it at all, Charles! I am certain the police of Fall River have as much honesty as their London counterpart. Incompetent, perhaps. Many people may think, myself among them, that the police ascended to new heights of mediocrity in the present affair, but I could never presume to

question their integrity."

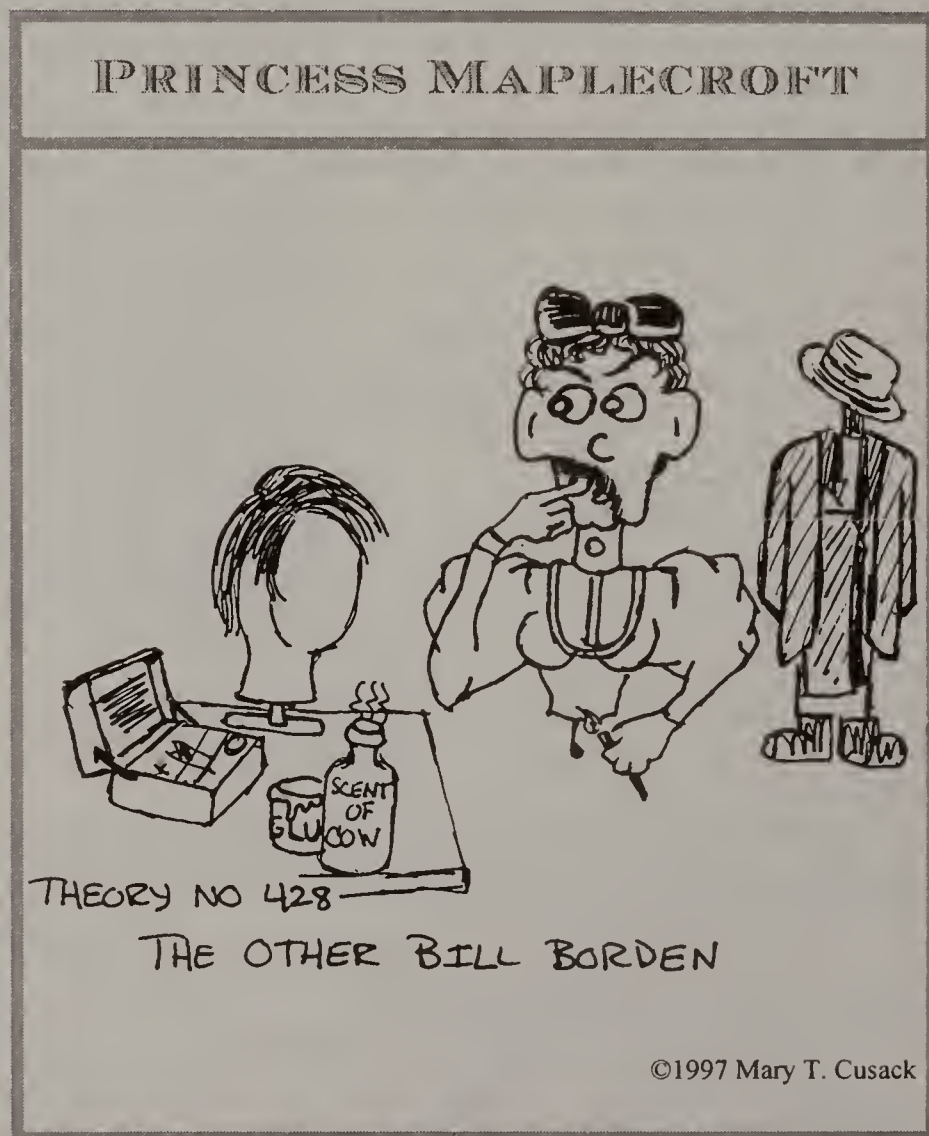
"The authorities," said Charles, "claimed they made a thorough search of the Borden premises. It's difficult to believe they could overlook the clothing and the hatchet Lizzie put in the well."

"A thorough search?" snickered Sherlock, "I think not. Lizzie told the authorities she went into the barn that day to obtain some scrap lead to make sinkers for a fishing trip. She said she had not been in the barn for several months. In a later version of her story, she claimed she went into the loft to find a piece of metal to fix a screen. Inspector Medley and Sergeant Harrington examined the loft on separate occasions on the day of the killings. They didn't find her footprints or anyone else's in the thick dust on the floor. For some unknown reason, the police didn't see fit to challenge her statement at the time."

"In the initial course of the investigation, the authorities failed to examine the unused well next to the barn until the following Saturday, two days after the crime had been committed. It was too late to do any good. The clothing and hatchet were removed by Bridget on Thursday night, the same day the murders occurred. Lizzie invented the story about her trip to the loft, on the off-chance someone might have seen her near the well when she disposed of the tell-tale evidence."

"As it turned out there was a witness. If you recall, an ice-cream peddler named Hyman Lubinsky testified at the trial he saw Lizzie about eleven o'clock that morning. He assumed, as did the police, that she was returning from the barn to the house. If he had been there a few minutes earlier, he would have seen her leave the back porch, drop her bundle in the well, and return to the house. Lizzie was never in the barn."

"Such masterful misdirection by our Miss Lizzie! 'Pon my



word! Lizzie focused the attention of the police on the barn by claiming she had been there and they temporarily overlooked the well! By the time they did search it, the clothing and hatchet were long gone.

"Can't you see the beauty of it? Have you ever read the "Purloined Letter", by Poe? In that story, a document of great importance was stolen from a royal house. The thief was known to the authorities, but a thorough search of his apartment proved fruitless. The thief, in fact, made no attempt to hide the letter. He altered its appearance by turning the letter inside out, readdressing it, and affixing a seal of a different color. He then soiled, and crumpled the missive, tore it almost in two, and placed it openly on his letter rack. The police failed to find it. Misdirection!

"Now the distance from the side porch to the well is exactly sixteen feet. The entire trip to the well and back to the house didn't consume more than fifteen seconds. There was little risk someone would have seen her within such a short time."

"How do you know how long it took?" asked Charles.

"On the day I arrived in Fall River, my first task was to examine the Borden property. I'm sure you remember."

Charles and Marianna both nodded.

"I took several measurements while I was there, including the distance from the well to the side door. I also calculated the time required to cover that distance."

"Even then you thought Lizzie was guilty," said Marianna, sadly.

"No, but all the evidence I had at my disposal was pointing in that direction. On the night following the outrage, Bridget Sullivan, acting under Lizzie's instructions, retrieved the incriminating items from the well. A witness has testified she saw the maid at 92 Second Street leaving the premises carrying a large bundle. It is my opinion Bridget buried the clothing and hatchet in some nearby field, after she left the house. The money she was promised and her fear of Lizzie provided the motivation."

"Bridget spent the night with a friend on Division Street. She never returned to the Second Street house," added Marianna.

"Perhaps she feared what might be waiting for her if she did," mused Holmes.

"Why do you discount the theory of a stranger entering the house and committing this outrage?" asked Charles, "I've always considered this a distinct possibility."

Holmes shook his head. "Lizzie tried to plant that thought in the minds of the police. She told them she left the screen door open when she went to the barn. This would have provided easy access for any homicidal maniac in the neighborhood.

"If an intruder had committed the crimes, he, or she, must

conceal themselves in the house for an hour and a half, the elapsed time between the two murders. Within minutes after the second murder, the intruder would be compelled to leave the Borden house in broad daylight, carrying a rather large bundle containing the hatchet. We know it wasn't left behind because no blood-stained hatchet was found on the premises. We must further assume the culprit was rendered invisible, since he or she could enter and leave the premises at will unseen by Lizzie, Bridget, or anyone else in the neighborhood." Holmes shook his head, "No, Charles, the possibility of an intruder is an impossibility.

"Let us now direct our attention to one of the most important factors in this egregious crime, namely, the death weapon. Two axes and two hatchets were discovered in the cellar by the police. A handleless hatchet head was also found and examined by

several experts. Suspicious stains found on one of the hatchets proved to be rust. Human hairs noted on one of the axes were found to be cow hairs. It has been suggested the blood could have been removed from the axe or hatchet by a vigorous scrubbing. I assure you this would not be an easy task. Any chemist employing modern analytical techniques could detect the slightest trace of blood if it was present, even after a so-called thorough washing.

"Only one conclusion remains: none of the hatchets or axes uncovered by the authorities were used

in the killings. In truth, the fatal instrument was never discovered because Bridget spirited it away on the night of the murders. The authorities believed that one of the hatchets found in the cellar was used to commit the crime, and failed to continue their search for the real murder weapon. This was a serious blunder on their part. If the police had checked the well on the day of the crime the jig would have been up for Lizzie Borden. But they failed to do so."

"Was the drugstore clerk's statement at the inquest significant?" queried Marianna.

"Very much so. The day before this terrible incident took place Lizzie Borden attempted to purchase ten cents worth of prussic acid from Smith's Drugstore. Eli Bence, the pharmacist on duty, refused to honor her request without a prescription from a physician. Bence later testified she had told him she wanted the poison to mothproof a sealskin cape, a highly dangerous, and unlikely application. There are many less toxic substances she could have employed. Lizzie told the druggist she had purchased the product before, but neglected to tell him if she obtained it from Smith's, or some other drugstore in the vicinity. Lizzie was positively identified by the druggist.

"A student named Frank Kelly and Frederick Hart, another



employee of Smith's, were in the store at that time. They also identified her. But when questioned by the authorities, Miss Borden vehemently denied visiting any drugstore on the day in question."

"Professor Wood, a physician and chemist at Harvard Medical School, analyzed the stomach contents of the deceased and found no trace of prussic acid, or any other poison," said Charles.

"Wouldn't this rule out the theory that Lizzie tried to poison her parents?" asked Marianna.

"Not necessarily. Let us go back to the morning of August third, the day before the atrocities. The entire household was ill, presumably from some tainted food. The food supply had been doctored with a small dose of arsenic introduced by our Lizzie during the cooking stage. Arsenic is easily acquired without a prescription. Lizzie had no experience with poisons and didn't know how much to use. The amount of arsenic she placed in the food was not fatal, just enough to make everyone sick."

"But Lizzie was ill, too," protested Charles.

"Was she ill or was she acting?" asked Sherlock. "It is not too difficult to pretend you have an upset stomach."

"Hold on, Sherlock," said Charles, "you said Lizzie purchased a hatchet in Marion to kill her parents. If this is true, what need did she have for poison?"

"I believe Lizzie's initial plot called for murdering her parents with a hatchet," said the detective, "but as the fateful day approached she lost her nerve and decided poison would be a tidier and less complicated option. When she failed with the arsenic and was unable to purchase prussic acid, she fell back on her original plan."

"Aren't you forgetting Dr. Wood found no trace of poison when he made his analysis?" asked Marianna.

"Arsenic, the obvious choice for novice poisoners, is undetectable and non-fatal in small quantities. When the arsenic failed to do its job, Lizzie attempted to obtain the more deadly prussic acid from Smith's Drugstore.

"It is unfortunate," sighed Sherlock Holmes, "that the public and press combined to condemn Andrew Borden for his parsimony, but rewarded his murderess for her terrible act. Once again, fate has provided us with a scenario that vilifies the victim and lionizes the criminal!"

Marianna stood up. "This entire affair has been too much for my head. If you gentlemen will excuse me, I shall bid you good night." She kissed her husband on the cheek, nodded at Sherlock Holmes and left the room.

THE CONFRONTATION June 21, 1893 Wednesday

Sherlock Holmes ascended the steps of 92 Second Street as the church clock struck twelve. He was responding to a summons he had received earlier in the day. Emma Borden opened the door and after a brief exchange of formalities, ushered him into the sitting room where Lizzie was reclining in an armchair. The black dress she had worn during the trial had been discarded and in its place, she was now wearing an expensive green silk brocade with large, puffed sleeves.

"Pray sit down, Mr. Holmes. This is the first opportunity I've had to personally thank you for taking an interest in my

affairs."

Holmes waved his hand, as if his contribution had been of little or no importance. He placed his hat on a small leather-covered wine table and sat on the settee opposite Lizzie.

Emma exited from the room, closing the door behind her.

"If you will prepare a bill for your services, I shall see to it that your fee is paid within the next few weeks. My father's estate has been tied up pending the outcome of the trial, but I have Mr. Jennings assurance it will be released by the court in the very near future."

"There is no fee, Miss Borden," was his reply, "my presence at the trial, and any small contribution I may have made to your defense were not a factor in your acquittal. I cannot accept thanks nor compensation, considering the circumstances."

She gazed at him for a long moment.

"I'd like to know what thoughts you harbored concerning my innocence. Did you believe I was guilty?"

Holmes turned the palms of his hands upward and sighed, "Madam, you were exonerated by a jury of your peers. What do you want of me? What I believe or disbelieve is of no value or consequence to you; it has no bearing on the matter."

She persisted.

"Mr. Holmes, do you think I was responsible for the death of my parents?"

Sherlock Holmes was obviously nettled. He arose, thrust his hands into the pockets of his trousers and walked towards the open window. A fresh breeze stirred the thin, white curtains.

"Miss Borden," he said sternly, "either you are the most ingenious liar I have ever met, or merely the luckiest. It is my belief you carefully orchestrated the deaths of your father and stepmother. The declaration you offered at the inquest contained no less than thirty-six separate discrepancies; contradictions from your own lips. If this testimony, or the statement of Eli Bence, the druggist, had been admitted into evidence, I am certain there would have been an entirely different outcome to your trial."

A brief silence ensued while she digested his words. Her flushed face resembled a clenched fist.

"Will you be leaving Fall River in the near future?"

"Tomorrow morning," replied Holmes, "on the 10 o'clock Special."

Emma reappeared. "Will you be taking dinner with us, Mr. Holmes?"

"No," he replied, rising and reaching for his hat, "I shall not."

June 22, 1893 Thursday

On the following morning, the carriage bearing Sherlock Holmes and his cousin arrived at the railroad station. The 10 o'clock Special had just pulled in.

Charles laid down the reins and stared into the distance. "There is one thing you haven't cleared up, Sherlock. What about the dress Lizzie burned?"

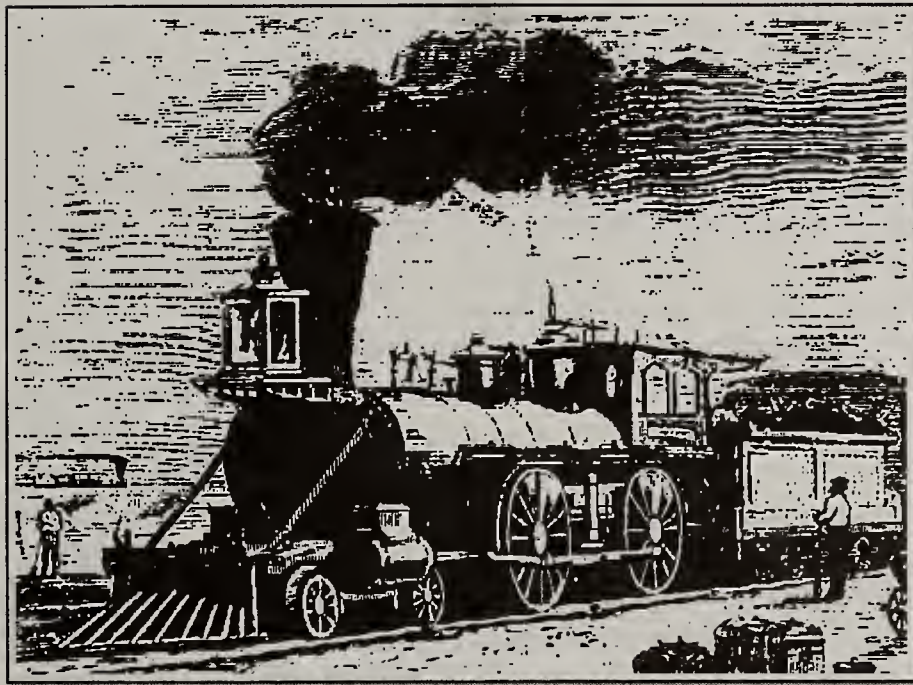
"It has no bearing on the case. No one testified they saw blood on the dress she burned. Lizzie waited until three days after the crime, from Thursday to Sunday, before destroying it. When she did so it was in full view of two witnesses with a police officer on guard outside the house. Lizzie Borden would have disposed of that dress immediately if it were incriminating."

Descending from the carriage, they walked together toward

the nearest coach. The detective shook his cousin's hand and bid him farewell.

"Don't look so crestfallen, Charles. If you'll permit me to prescribe for you I suggest you return home, uncork a bottle of that excellent Armagnac you keep in your cellar, and lose yourself in a good book. 'Life is often a disappointment, fiction is far more reliable.'"

Sherlock Holmes stepped from the platform and boarded the train that would carry him to his destination.



EPILOGUE

After her acquittal, Lizzie Borden was lampooned unmercifully. She was referred to as "the self-made heiress". Writer William Roughead described her as "unfilial." The sympathy her adoring public gave her during the ordeal had now completely vanished. George W. Robinson was paid \$25,000 for his legal services, a huge sum for the times. The Superior Court judges who officiated at the trial had to make do with an annual salary of \$5000.

Edwin H. Porter, a reporter for the Fall River Globe, published his book, "The Fall River Tragedy," in 1893. It portrayed Lizzie in an unfavorable light. She purchased all the copies she could find and destroyed them. No more than two dozen copies of Porter's book are said to exist. A copy originally in the Library of Congress has vanished, another is kept at the State House in Boston. The archives of the Fall River Historical Society has one in their collection, and another is in the possession of novelist Frank Spiering. The publisher and writer, Robert A. Flynn, also has a copy, as does *Lizbits* Columnist Neilson Caplain and Maynard F. Bertolet, editor of the *Lizzie Borden Quarterly*. The author (WSU) attended a book sale in November, 1993. A copy of Porter's book was being offered for sale by booksellers *Dunn & Powell*. The asking price was one thousand dollars.

Shortly after her acquittal, Lizzie and Emma moved into a stately house on French Street in the fashionable hill section of Fall River. The house was an imposing structure consisting of fourteen rooms and four bathrooms; a far cry from the single privy on Second Street! Lizzie christened her new home

Maplecroft. She created a mild sensation among her more conservative neighbors when she had this name chiseled into the top riser of the granite front steps.

Emma left the French Street address in 1904 after a dispute with Lizzie, and the Borden siblings never saw each other again. Lizzie Borden lived alone in isolated splendor at Maplecroft for the next twenty-three years, until her death on June 1, 1927. Emma was living in Newmarket, New Hampshire at this time, and when she received word of Lizzie's death she fell and broke her hip. Ten days later she was dead. The combined estates of the Borden girls totaled almost one million dollars.

Perhaps the best insight we'll ever have into Lizzie Borden's mind is provided by a short sentence she wrote in a note to a friend, following her acquittal:

"I do not dare put my dreams into print."

We'll never know what horrors she saw there.

*

"The final ironic episode in the bizarre case occurred two years after her death. The new owners of the house on Second Street decided to demolish a backyard barn which Lizzie had visited on the morning of the murders. When it was pulled down, a cooper's hammer, described as an 'ax' by reporters hopefully covering the demolition, was found under the barn floor. In actuality, the hammer, because of its short blunt edge, could not have been the death weapon involved in the Borden deaths, but it cost Bristol County \$200 for the services of an analytical chemist to quiet the agitated Fall River newspapers. Even Lizzie, who had little enough to laugh about in her lonely and bitter life, might have smiled at that."

Attorney William M. Kunstler,
The New York Times, May 13, 1979

*

Upon her return from Ireland, Bridget Sullivan resided in Anaconda, Montana. After living there for forty-five years, she was stricken with pneumonia. Fearing she was near death, Bridget sent for her close friend, Minnie Green, 'Please come at once,' she wrote. 'I have kept this terrible secret all of my life and I want to tell it to someone before I pass on.' Minnie lived some distance away, and by the time she arrived at Bridget's bedside several days later, the crisis had passed. Bridget was well on the road to recovery, and reluctant to discuss the matter. She relented long enough to tell Minnie the testimony she gave in court had been favorable to Lizzie. Lizzie, in turn, expressed her appreciation by presenting a large sum of money to Bridget. The money was used to purchase a farm in Ireland for her parents. Minnie was familiar with the story of the Borden tragedy, and eagerly pressed Bridget for further details. None were forthcoming.

This was the substance of the story told to Minnie Green. If Bridget thought she was dying, would her story have been more revealing? One can only speculate. Bridget Sullivan passed away at a hospital in Butte, Montana in 1948. She was eighty-four years old. If she was the keeper of a terrible secret, it died with her.

THE END

(Continued from Page 1)

on a tour of the country and was not discouraged by the Harding landslide. After the defeat of the Democratic National ticket he began a plan to make Franklin D. Roosevelt the candidate for President at some future time.

THE 1932 DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

His plans were temporally halted in 1921 when Mr. Roosevelt was stricken with Infantile Paralysis, better known as Polio. It was Louis Howe, along with Eleanor Roosevelt, who persuaded Franklin not to abandon his political plans. Louis soon moved into Hyde Park where he wrote thousands of letters to fellow Democrats in the movement to keep the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt alive. The work was endless. He took Eleanor Roosevelt on tours and taught her to make speeches. She became a voice for her husband. In 1928 Colonel Howe, as he was then known, worked for the election of Mr. Roosevelt for Governor of New York and brought that campaign to victory. In 1932 when Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President of the United States, he thanked two men, James Farley and Louis M. Howe. Louis traveled with the President to Washington. He was now Secretary and Confidential Assistant to the President.

WITH THE PRESIDENT IN EXILE

President Roosevelt insisted that Louis Howe live at the White House. To make his duties as easy as possible, he was given the large bedroom that had been used by former President Lincoln. It had a connecting dressing room with a private bath. When Mr. Howe was shown the large Lincoln bed he laughed heartily as he compared its dimensions with his own small stature. Later, he had a cot set up in his dressing room and used the larger room for his study. It was soon filled with stacks of papers reminiscent of his old newspaper offices in which he spent his time before tying his own destiny to Mr. Roosevelt's political star.

During the holidays, Grace Howe and her children dined at the White House, as they had done in earlier days when the two families had spent their holidays together at Hyde Park. Eleanor liked Grace and by this time was extremely fond of Louis Howe for the loyalty and devotion he had given to her husband. I suppose it should also be mentioned that both the Roosevelt and Howe Children never spent much time with their fathers while growing up, so the holidays spent together were more than special times in their lives.

Although Louis Howe enjoyed summers with his family at his cottage at Horseneck Beach in Westport, Massachusetts, they shared very little time together. Grace brought her children up more or less alone. Louis Howe was now the Number Two man in the White House and was the closest man to the President. Unlike his predecessors who were familiars and advisers to presidents, none could be compared to Louis Howe. The Colonel was sometimes called the Assistant President. He played a large role in creating the New Deal and was Executive Director of the National Crime Commission. During the election, six hundred

stenographers and typists worked under his direction. In the White House he held such titles as Chief White House Secretary, Confidential Assistant, Personal Attache and others. His activities ranged from management of campaigns to the assumption of great authority, delegated to him by the President. Needless to say, he was the second most important man in the White House.

THE DEATH OF LOUIS

Louis Howe was said to have done the work of ten men. Even though by 1932 he was quite ill, he stuck to his task. His ailments however would later claim his life. After a trip to Boston with the President, on February 23, 1935, bronchitis struck a body already weakened by arterial and cardiac ailments complicated by digestive troubles.

During the early stages of his illness Colonel Howe remained in his suite at the White House. For a long time he was kept in an oxygen tent. By the end of March many long vigils were kept at the White House by the President, Grace and her children, Hartley Howe and Mary Baker.

Because he could not stand the noise while repairs and alterations were being done at the mansion, he was moved to the Naval Hospital in Washington on August 21, 1935. He remained until April 18, 1936, when he died in his sleep at the age of sixty-five. Eleanor Roosevelt telephoned Grace Howe in Fall River to gently break the news that her husband had died. The President was notified as he left the Gridiron Club where he had dined that evening.

On April 21, 1936, a small group of officials gathered in the East Room of the White House. President Roosevelt paid silent tribute at the funeral of his secretary and intimate friend for a quarter of a century. Near the President sat his widow Grace H. Howe, her son Hartley Howe and daughter Mary, who sat next to her husband Robert Baker. Next to them were members of the White House staff. A touch of color was given to the funeral by the presence of White House aides in dress uniform representing the Army, Navy and Marine Corp. The flag at the White House was lowered in honor of Louis M. Howe.

The services began with the singing of *Onward, Christian Soldiers*. Following the scriptural reading the choir chanted the Twenty-third and Twenty-ninth Psalm. Later that evening the President and his wife boarded a special train to escort the body of his friend to Fall River, where burial services would be held the next day. Members of the Howe family also boarded the train and rode with the President in his private car. The President's train arrived in Fall River at 10:00 A.M. the next morning. The station had been kept empty at the express request of the President. It was also requested that there be no reception committee. The day was cloudy and cold in contrast with the warm weather at the Capital. The train stopped a short distance from the station to permit the removal of Louis Howe's body by a squad of Naval enlisted men. They acted as pall bearers out of respect to the position Mr. Howe held as Special Assistant to Franklin Roosevelt when the latter was Secretary to the Navy. After the body was removed, the President and Mrs. Roosevelt

departed from the train followed by Grace Howe together with other relatives of the Howe Family. They had ridden from Washington aboard the President's private car as guest of the President. They were met at the station by Franklin Roosevelt, Jr. and John Roosevelt, along with a large number of officials including Governors John M. Curley of Massachusetts and Theodore Green of Rhode Island. The President and Mrs. Roosevelt took places in the fourth car of a long line waiting to drive to the cemetery. The first car was filled with floral tributes brought from Washington. Next was the hearse carrying the casket. Louis Howe's family occupied the third car. Governors Curley and Green rode directly behind the President. Following them was a long line of cars bearing local dignitaries and those who had accompanied the President from Washington. Thousands of people lined the route to Oak Grove Cemetery. The crowds extended without a break during the two-mile ride from the train station to the cemetery. They stood in silence as the line of cars passed. State Troopers and local police were stationed along the way. At the cemetery, the cortege was met by delegations representing the American Legion, the local police and firemen and other organizations, who saluted the hearse as it passed them en route to the family plot. The President and his party remained in their cars while the casket was removed from the hearse and carried to the grave site. Then the President and members of his family followed Mrs. Howe and her children to the burial site. Everyone stood for the burial committal service recited by Rev. Edmund J. Cleveland, the rector of the Episcopal Church of the Ascension of which Mr. Howe was a communicant. Motion picture and still photographers were permitted to take photographs of the group until Dr. Cleveland reached the prayers that were part of his service. Mr. Roosevelt, according to the papers, appeared oblivious to everything around him both during and after the service. The President and his party boarded the train for the journey back to Washington. Grace Howe and her family remained in Fall River and were driven to their home.

When the Democratic party met in Philadelphia on June 27, 1936, Grace Howe attended as a delegate at large from the state of Massachusetts. A tribute of silence was paid to Louis McHenry Howe. Then it was announced that Grace Hartley Howe was to be appointed Post Mistress of the Fall River Post Office in July by Postmaster General James Farley. The entire Democratic party stood to applaud when the announcement was made. Grace held that job until she retired at the age of seventy-five in 1951, having served in that post for fifteen years.

THE DEATH OF GRACE

Grace Hartley Howe died of a cerebral hemorrhage and complications four years later on June 14, 1955. Eleanor Roosevelt attended her funeral paying her respects for the last time. Ever since 1936, the former First Lady had sent a dozen white roses to Grace on Louis Howe's birthday.

When Louis Howe died he left no will. An administrator's inventory disclosed that the personal secretary to Franklin Roosevelt left personal property valued at \$25,793 dollars. The court granted a widow's allowance of \$5,000 dollars to Mrs. Howe. The property included deposits totaling \$24,793.55 in the Fifth Avenue Bank in New York. The real estate listed was a one-half interest in land and a cottage in Westport valued at

\$750.00 dollars.

AFTERMATH AND LIZZIE

Earlier in life Grace Howe, a second cousin to Lizzie Borden, was included in Lizzie's will. She along with Lizzie's close friend Helen Leighton were left half shares of the AJ Borden building. Lizzie only owned half of that building. Lizzie's sister Emma, who at one time owned the other half, had sold her share to Jacob Dondis a few years earlier. Grace also received a diamond and amethyst ring from Lizzie. She shared with Helen Leighton books, china, rugs, pictures and Lizzie's desk. Lizzie had mentioned in her will if her friend Helen Leighton did not survive her, then her things were to go to Grace Howe, or her children.

During Lizzie's life, and many years after her death, Grace Howe always declined to speak to reporters about Lizzie. It was not until 1942 that she broke her silence. She denied Lizzie had ever lived as a recluse and said she continued her charitable work after the trial, but insisted on absolute secrecy. She said Lizzie had financed the college education of many deserving students.

In 1951, a news reporter once again sought out Grace at her home on 141 Martha Street. In her living room he saw a beautiful rug which once graced the drawing room of Maplecroft, Lizzie's home after the trial. On a shelf he saw books by Mark Twain, Kingsley, and Thackeray, also once the property of Lizzie Borden. When asked what foods Lizzie liked, Grace replied she could recall being at a restaurant in Boston with Lizzie where she ordered "tripe and mushrooms." "Unlike the famous mutton breakfast of 1892," the reporter wrote

This was the last interview about Lizzie given by Grace Howe. She died four years later. I might also mention that her husband Louis had a wonderful sense of humor. While living in the White House, he was said to have quipped many times about being a cousin to Lizzie Borden.

The two clauses in the Lizbeth A. Borden will dated January 30, 1926 that relate to Grace Hartley Howe

5. To Miss Helen Leighton I give my three diamond rings and diamond and sapphire brooch, my inlaid mahogany desk and chairs in my library, also my library desk with the reading lamp, and I also direct that she shall have the first choice and may take any and all of my rugs, books, china, pictures, and furniture that she may choose. I also give and devise to her one-half of my share in the A.J. Borden Building, in said Fall River, if she shall survive me, if not I give and devise my interest therein to Grace H. Howe, to her and her heirs, executors, administrators and assigns forever.
6. To my cousin, Mrs. Grace H. Howe, my diamond and amethyst ring and I direct that she shall have second choice of my rugs, books, china, pictures and furniture, and I also give to her the privilege, so far as I have the same, to use the Oak Grove Cemetery lot for burial purposes. I also give and devise to her one-half of my share in the A.J. Borden Building in said Fall River, to her, her heirs, executors, administrators and assigns forever.

Lizzie Borden: "Hash and Rehash"

A review by Allen J. Brake

Mr. Brake is a communications student at Bristol Community College and a guide at the Borden House Museum and Bed and Breakfast.

The 1992 Lizzie Borden Conference at Bristol Community College saw the gathering of many of the world's foremost authorities on the Lizzie Borden case. A 30-minute film was made at the conference and elsewhere which documented the opinions of some of these Lizzie "experts". The film, made by Immy Humes, is appropriately entitled *Hash and Rehash* and features such notables as Ed Thibault, Dr. Steven Nissenbaum, Mrs. Florence Brigham, Kenneth Souza, and Jules Ryckebusch, along with many other colorful personalities.

Hash and Rehash is a unique look at the case because there are many different views being offered in rapid succession, as opposed to a more traditional documentary format. Watching the film without prior knowledge of the case may cause some confusion. Bridget committed the murders, Emma did the deed, Lizzie may have had epileptic seizures when she menstruated and thus hacked her father and step-mother to death. Humes illustrates that as much as we know about the case, we still cannot agree who did it.

Comic relief is provided by Borden buffs candidly expressing themselves. The Quarterly's own Jules Ryckebusch vividly describes Mrs. Borden as an "ugly, disgusting, meaningless blob of oatmeal". I am not kidding. Muriel Arnold matter-of-factly states that in her neighborhood the Lizzie rhyme was "Lizzie Borden HAD an axe," as opposed to "Lizzie Borden TOOK an axe." "The rest is the same," says Arnold.

The animated Dr. Nissenbaum searches the air with his hands as he thinks of his next perceptive comment. Ed Thibault states that his brain is full and that he needs to break down and buy a computer to store the additional information, thus enlightening the world of the dangers of conducting too much Lizzie Borden research.

In all, the film is well-made, nicely-edited, informative, and above all, entertaining. If for no other reason, I recommend you see it just to get a glance of the heavy-metal band that is named - what else? - Lizzie Borden. Now that's entertainment!

(Editor's note: "Hash and Rehash" (approximately 26 minutes) is being shown in the East on a few Public Television stations as part of a series entitled "New Television." In addition to the participants listed in the review, you will see the Film Director also named Lizzie Borden as well as Mrs. Florence Brigham and Professor James E. Starrs. It is now available in the VHS video format.)



Two Lizzie Borden. A heavy-metal singer and a feminist filmmaker appear in *Hash and Rehash*. Both took Lizzie's name to better express their identities.

THOSE WHACKY BORDENS

by Kathleen Troost

Bridget Sullivan took an axe
And gave poor Abby forty whacks.
When Emma saw what she had done,
She gave her father forty-one.

But Lizzie Borden went to trial;
Emma went through a state of denial;
Bridget was hysterical, plain to see;
But Lizzie was calm as calm could be.

All through the inquest Lizzie was cool
(She never cried outright, as a rule);
She firmly denied her guilt in the matter,
But the D.A. thought she was mad as a hatter.

Then on came the feminists, fully enraged,
Like generals out for a war to be waged;
On every street, in every town,
They beat that prosecution down.

In came the letters to Taunton Jail:
Flowers, presents -- Lizzie Fan Mail.
"Oh my," Lizzie said when she read all the cards,
Written by novice, but passionate, bards.

On went the trial through sunshine and rain;
The jury went out and came right back again:
"NOT GUILTY!" the verdict (what a surprise),
And tears just streamed from everyone's eyes.

Outside the courthouse, the message flew:
"Not guilty! She made it! YEE-AH-HOO!!"
Dancing and singing, parties galore!
And no one cared who'd done it any more.

Bridget was sent off to Ireland post-haste;
Emma remained (that was very bad taste);
Lizzie bought Maplecroft up on The Hill
(And it was no problem paying The Bill).

That's all there is, there ain't no more --
My poor contribution to Borden lore.
And should anyone unlock the mystery,
Dial 876-5353.

© 1997 Kathleen Troost



(Continued from Page 3)

Kelly family (who were the Bordens' next door neighbors to the south), since no one is sure exactly when Abby was attacked and exactly when Bridget was out of the line of sight of the barn.

Lizzie, then, still could have gone into and out of the barn unnoticed through the side door if she was extraordinarily lucky. However, one may also argue that Lizzie knew Bridget did not feel well and that the maid could return to the north side of the house and enter through the side door to go up to her attic bedroom, the only way she could get there the way the house was set up. If Bridget would have seen Lizzie leaving the barn with a hatchet in her hand, then either the murders would have had to be postponed or Bridget, too, would have had to die. Would Lizzie, or any murderer, risk the destruction of a carefully laid murder plan by leaving so much to chance? Probably not.

Another, more logical possibility presents itself. Lizzie could have killed Abby and Andrew without having gone into the barn at that day. Perhaps the Bordens did keep hatchets in the barn, but Lizzie brought one into the house sometime before the premeditated murders. When would Lizzie have sneaked the hatchets into the house, and, more importantly, where in the house would she have hidden it until an opportunity to use it presented itself?

On the murder morning, Lizzie most likely would not have known when Abby would go upstairs to clean the guest room. She also could not know with any degree of certainty when, or even if, Bridget was going to wash the windows that morning, since Abby did not tell her to do so until just before Andrew left the house to go "downstreet" sometime between 9:00 and 9:30 A.M. So Lizzie, if the hatchet was in the house at all, had to have brought it in long before the killings occurred.

Lizzie stated to the police that she had not left the house that morning before Abby was killed (at approximately 9:30 A.M.). No one else claimed to have seen her outside of the house before she told Officer William O. Medley after the murders that she entered the barn (by which time Abby was dead). Perhaps the day before the murders, when Lizzie failed in her attempt to purchase prussic acid from druggist Eli Bence, or even earlier, possibly days earlier, she spirited the murder weapon into the house, planning to kill Abby, or both Abby and Andrew, at some later time. This brings about the second question.

If Lizzie brought the hatchet into the house before Thursday morning on August 4, the day of the murders, where would she have hidden the weapon for such a relatively long period of time? Could Lizzie have put it in her own room and kept it there until she decided to use it? Could she then, on that Thursday morning, with Bridget out washing the windows and Abby cleaning the guest room, have gone upstairs, walked past the guest room (as she would have had to do to enter her own bedroom), retrieved the hatchet from under her bed or from behind her bureau, silently walked back to the guest room, entered and struck Abby 19 times about the head and neck? Or, could Lizzie have hidden the weapon in Emma's room, empty since Emma left for Fairhaven earlier that week? Both scenarios present strong possibilities, since each daughter was responsible for the upkeep

of her own room and neither Abby nor Bridget was likely to clean either room and discover a hidden hatchet.

No other part of the house presented Lizzie with so convenient a hiding place. No other rooms were accessible from the front of the house. To get from Abby and Andrew's bedroom, their dressing room or the upstairs closet, as well as from Bridget's third floor room, Lizzie would have had to exit the house via the front door, walk around the side yard to the side (north) door, go up the back stairs, then follow the same path in reverse to reenter the front of the house, climb the front stairs to the landing and walk into the guest room. Hiding the hatchet anywhere on the first floor would have been too risky for Lizzie. There were always too many people going in and out of the downstairs area at any one time. Most likely, then if Lizzie did hide the hatchet in the house, it was in her room or Emma's until Lizzie fetched it to use it on Abby.

What, then, did Lizzie do with the hatchet after killing Abby and before Andrew returned home, which he did on that fateful day three hours earlier than was his habit? Perhaps Lizzie cleaned the hatchet after killing Abby and hid it again. This time, however, she could have safely hidden it on the first floor. If she planned to return the hatchet to its original location (either the cellar or the barn), she may have hidden it somewhere in the parlor, kitchen, front closet or dining room. Lizzie could afford to be less careful this time because she planned to clean and return the hatchet within a matter of minutes, Abby was dead, Andrew was not due home until about 1:00 P.M., and Bridget, the only person who could cause Lizzie problems, was finishing the inside windows. Lizzie possibly had a simple plan to get Bridget out of the house so she could deal with Andrew alone, a plan she had to try a few hours earlier than she had originally intended.

In what must have been a shock to Lizzie Andrew returned home at 10:45 A.M., well before his accustomed time, most likely because he felt ill from the last night's supper. Lizzie convinced Andrew to lie down on the sitting room sofa and after making him comfortable, arranged to get Bridget out of the house by mentioning a dress goods sale at the local dry goods store. Bridget replied that she might go to the sale later that afternoon, which would have prevented Lizzie from killing her father that morning. Bridget herself solved that problem, however, by saying that she still felt sick from the last night's meal and retired to her room to take a nap. Perhaps, as Victoria Lincoln wrote, Lizzie did not originally plan to kill Andrew, but did so because she feared he would figure out who killed his wife. On the other hand, it is also possible that Robert Sullivan is correct and murdering Andrew was part of her plan. Either way, all Lizzie had to do once Andrew was asleep was to get the hatchet, dispatch Andrew and attempt to hide or destroy the evidence by breaking off the handle and coating the hatchet head with ashes, then putting the handleless hatchet head in the box with the other hatchets and axes while hiding the wooden handle or burning it in the kitchen stove.

(To be concluded in the April, 1997 issue)



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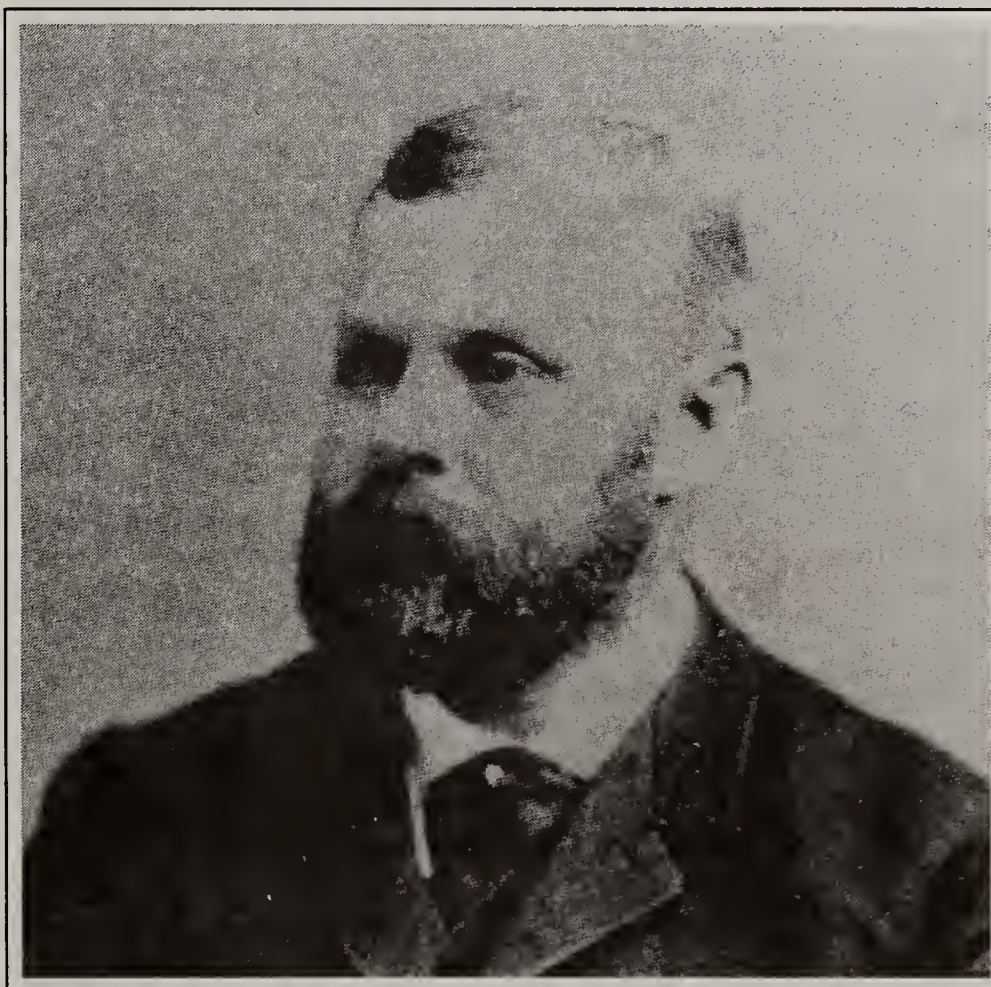
HOSEA KNOWLTON FOR THE PROSECUTION

by General William
Knowlton, (ret.)

(Editor's note: This month we are especially pleased to present as our headline article the life and times of Hosea Knowlton. General Knowlton is the grandson of Hosea and this article is a part of his unpublished family papers, which may be published in the future. And, just in case there may be one or two of our readers who are not yet familiar with the Hosea Knowlton name, it was he who led the Borden axe-murders prosecution team in his role as District Attorney of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Also, the readership owes an additional prior debt to the Knowlton family. They donated their entire collection of 1892 and 1893 previously unpublished letters and documents from the files of District Attorney Knowlton to the Fall River Historical Society. The Society masterfully and logically edited this material into a magnificently published volume. A few copies remain and may be purchased from the Fall River Historical Society.)

EARLY KNOWLTON GENEALOGIES

Every study must start somewhere. In this case, it is well to start with a book entitled *The History and Genealogy of the*



Prosecuting Attorney Hosea Knowlton, c.1892

Previously unpublished photograph reproduced courtesy of the Fall River Historical Society

Knowltons of England and America, by the Reverend Charles Henry Wright Stocking, published by the Knickerbocker Press of New York in 1897. This book was compiled by the Reverend Stocking at the request of William Herrick Griffith, who was the son of Mary Louisa Knowlton and Edwin H. Griffith. A brother of Mary Louisa Knowlton was George Henry Knowlton, of Albany, New York. Since Mr. Griffith was interested in genealogy, and since the Griffith family had so many noble origins, he set out to have a book prepared which would give the same noble

beginnings to the Knowlton family. The Reverend Stocking did a monumental job, but there are many errors in the book. Hosea Morrill Knowlton once wrote in a letter that he thought the Reverend Stocking never proofread a page. After the Stocking book appeared, George Henry Knowlton was disturbed by the errors and devoted the remainder of his life to preparing an authentic Knowlton genealogy. The first result of his work was a 1903 book entitled *Errata and Addenda to Dr. Stocking's History and Genealogy of the Knowltons of England and America*. It was published in Boston by the Everett Press Company. While not as well known as its predecessor, this publication is vital for the corrections it makes to major errors in the Stocking book.

But we should start somewhere. Page 401 of the Stocking book has the following entry on Hosea Morrill Knowlton:

AN ENTRY FROM THE STOCKING BOOK

The Honorable Hosea Morrill Knowlton was born in Durham, Maine, May 20, 1847. As he was the son of a clergyman, his early domestic life was an

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THE LIZZIE BORDEN QUARTERLY

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MISS LIZBETH BORDEN'S EDITOR SPEAKS

This is no April Fool's joke! We have several outstanding articles to bring to you, however, some are lengthy. So, we can either serialize and maintain diversity, or, print a long piece in its entirety and run the risk of not having 'something for everybody.' What do you think? Drop a line and let me know.

The current issue is worthy of comment. General William Knowlton, a grandson of fabled Hosea Knowlton, has shared some private family papers and we are pleased to pass them on. We also have several of our old favorites and a new author. Something for everybody enjoy!

Oh yes, please check your label on the last page. If you see **Remaining Issues: 0**, don't let the hatchet chop you off from our fun and frolic. We save money by not mailing expiration notices. Your cooperation is requested. Renew your subscription today!

Maynard F. Bertolet
Editor

THE LIZZIE BORDEN QUARTERLY

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THAT ELUSIVE HATCHET

Part Two of Two: "The Hatchet - No"

By Paul Dennis Hoffman

(Editor's note: Here is the final handleless-axe installment. Dr. Hoffman wrote ... questions ... have remained in the shadows of legend and history for over one hundred years ... How true! In this issue he looks at some evidence on the other side.)

Not all historians of the Borden murder case, of course, believe that Lizzie was the culprit who committed the crimes. And if these students of the crime are correct, the speculation on the history of the handleless hatchet, as explained in the January, 1997 issue, must be in error.

Edward D. Radin, for example, in *Lizzie Borden - The Untold Story* (1961) declares that Bridget Sullivan, the Bordens' maid, committed the murders and spirited the real hatchet out of the house on the evening of the day of the killings, Thursday, August 4, 1892, when she left the Borden house for the last time. Witness Dwight Waring, Radin claims, saw a woman limping from the Borden house, crossing the street and identified that person as Bridget, who had no limp.

Radin speculates that Bridget was really hiding the true weapon beneath her dress.

Frank Spiering, in *Lizzie* (1984), contended that Lizzie's sister Emma killed Andrew and Abby with a hatchet she got from a wood shed near the Brownell house in Fairhaven, Massachusetts, where she was supposed to be visiting friends for the week. She disposed of it on her way back to Fairhaven. Arnold Brown, in *Lizzie Borden - The Legend, the Truth, the Final Chapter* (1991), stated that the Bordens were killed by Andrew's illegitimate son, William, who took the real murder weapon with him when he left the Borden home after killing Lizzie's father and stepmother.

Although their arguments for a murder weapon, other than the infamous handleless hatchet, are interesting, they do not cause much doubt among those who believe that "Lizzie did it". Two far stronger arguments in favor of a murder weapon, other than the one found covered with ashes in the Borden chimney niche, are put forth in David Kent's *Forty Whacks* (1992) and Robert A. Flynn in his short but incisive *Lizzie Borden and the Mysterious Axe* (1992).

Kent wrote that it is possible Lizzie killed Andrew and Abby, and then hid the ax after Andrew's body was discovered and Bridget rushed across Second Street to get Dr. Seabury Bowen. Alternatively, if there was not enough time then (because Mrs. Adelaide Churchill hurried over to the Borden

house), it could have been when Mrs. Churchill rushed up the street to get another doctor. At Lizzie's trial, the prosecution hoped that the jury would believe either of these possibilities, therefore convicting Lizzie of the crime. The prosecution also hoped the jury would believe that Lizzie broke off the handle of the suspected murder weapon and coated the head with ashes to hide any traces of blood. The problem for the prosecution with this theory was that one of the police officers who discovered the hatchet head, Michael Mullaly, said the other officer present at

the time, Assistant City Marshal John Fleet, took not only the hatchet head out of the box, but the handle as well. Fleet had not mentioned this when he had testified earlier. By the time of the trial, the broken handle had disappeared, never again to be located. Fleet, when recalled to the stand by Lizzie's attorney George Robinson, denied that he ever saw a broken handle in the box. The jury believed Fleet was lying on the stand to buttress the prosecution's case. If the handle existed so long after



The Hatchet - Perhaps

Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Fall River Historical Society

the murders, Lizzie most likely did not burn or hide it to destroy evidence against her and thus made the possibility of her innocence more likely. In the mind of the jury, Mullaly's testimony effectively destroyed the prosecution's case about the handleless hatchet being the murder weapon and Lizzie breaking off a bloody handle to destroy evidence against her.

David Kent also points to Fall River Medical Examiner Dr. William A. Dolan's testimony, as well as trial statements of Harvard College's Doctors Frank W. Draper, David W. Cheever and Edward S. Wood to cast doubt about the handleless hatchet being the true instrument of murder. Dolan testified that the handleless hatchet could be the murder weapon IF the blade was a certain length. However, Dolan said he never measured the blade himself, and that some of the wounds were 1½ inches longer than the blade's cutting edge. Neither Dr. Draper nor Dr. Cheever testified about the presence of gilt in Abby's wounds. Gilt, found on all new hatchets in that era, would prove the murder weapon was recently bought and never before used, while the handleless hatchet was agreed upon by all to be at least five years old. As explained below, the omission of mentioning gilt by both of the medical doctors and chemist Wood figured strongly in the conclusion of author Robert Flynn that the real murder weapon was never found. Wood also testified that no

(Continued on Page 19)

THE BIBLIOGRAPHIC BORDEN

by Lisa Zawadzki

Hello, loyal readers. The Bibliographic Borden has come up with the goods once again. I have another nice assortment of murder-filled articles for us all to enjoy. I was in Fall River recently, so I'm feeling particularly inspired.

Joyce Robins:

Lizzie Borden

In: *Lady Killers: 100 Tales of Passion, Revenge and Despair*
Wallsend, Tyne & Wear: Premier Books, 1993: 270-276

Let's get rolling with another swell British true-crime anthology, this one focusing on the ladies. Lizzie was seen as most likely guilty in this article. The author picked out and used facts that shed an unfavorable light on Lizzie. The unhappy household, Andrew as a pigeon-murdering cheapskate and Lizzie as a thief were all recounted. The lack of blood on Lizzie was noted, however.

I am always amazed how authors can pick and choose from the same pool of information and use it to come up with such totally different portrayals of the case's events and people. Lizzie's a greedy social climber, no, she's a Sunday school teacher, no, wait, she's a hatchet-slashing feminist. Lizzie Borden, Renaissance woman.

Not to pick on Robins, but you can sometimes tell which books the authors have read (or believed). Some take their information from many sources and blend it. Others pick out stuff that supports their themes. This writer mentioned Victoria Lincoln, and this influence was recognizable in her essay.

Still, a sort of decent retelling of the case and Lizzie's life. The British really seem to like Lizzie Borden. Her picture didn't make the cover this time, though.

Janice E. Schuetz:

Lizzie Andrew Borden: the Logic of Justification

In: *The Logic of Women on Trial:*

Case Studies of Popular American Trials

Carbondale, Illinois, Southern Illinois University Press,
1994: 61-85

In this lengthy essay, the effects of gender, law, and history on the trial were discussed. Theories of justification were used to "analyze the logic of this trial". According to my dictionary, in law justification means "to show an adequate reason for something done." The author presented how both sides used popular beliefs about women to discuss justification.

The analysis of the trial proceedings was very interesting. The author went into great detail here and made a convincing argument. The discussion of the prosecution's case vs. 1890's ideas about gender was especially fascinating reading.

Schuetz felt that the prosecution presented a valid case using circumstantial evidence, but the defense's appeal to the jurors' social beliefs led to Lizzie's freedom. A good case was made for the influence certain relationships between trial participants had in swaying the outcome. A must-read for all legal-minded fans of the case.

M. Eileen McNamara:

Was Lizzie Borden the Victim of Incest?

In: *Rhode Island Medicine* (February 1993): 95-97

For those lucky enough to have been at the 1992 Lizzie Borden Conference, you may have heard the author present her ideas on this subject. It certainly has become a matter of much discussion, and deservedly so, as reading this piece will reveal.

McNamara's persuasive article examined Lizzie's character; often withdrawn, avoiding contact with men, and a kleptomaniac. Her home life in a tense, locked-up house was reviewed. Lizzie's traits were felt to fit the characteristics of an incest victim. The family dynamics and personalities of the other members of the household were inspected to support this theory.

The crime too was felt to fit the theory. Previously non-violent Lizzie killed just these two people in quite a gruesome manner, and never again was known to harm another living thing. Read it and decide for yourself.

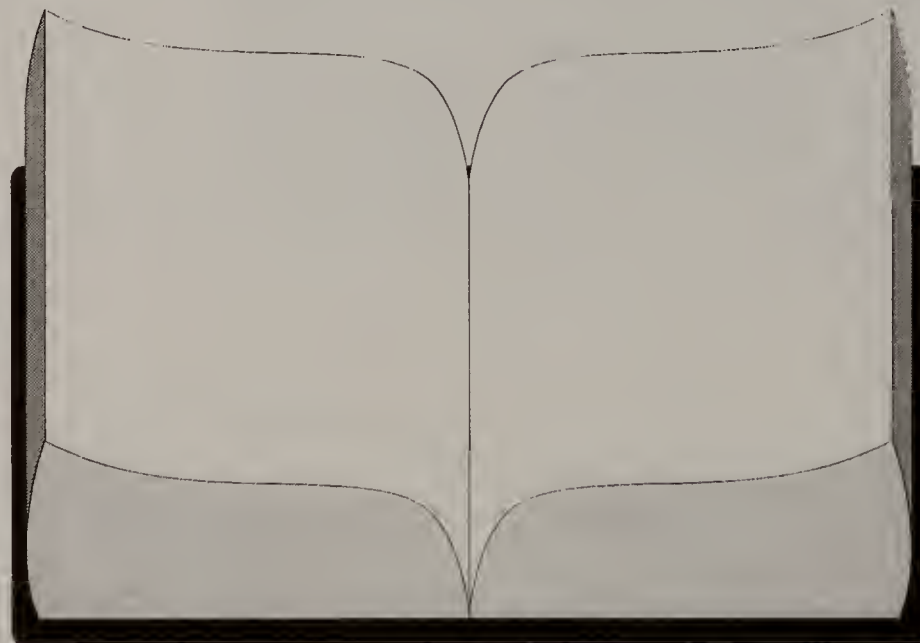
Tad Tuleja:

Lizzie Borden

In: *The New York Public Library Book of Popular Americana*
New York: Macmillan, 1994: 41

I'm so disillusioned. A good author and a favorite institution team up to screw up. In just seven lines (including the poem) Tuleja made a mistake. While they correctly told of Lizzie's alleged crime and acquittal, they incorrectly stated Lizzie was a "Massachusetts schoolteacher". Even though you can understand how a mistake might happen since Lizzie was a one-time Sunday School teacher, the error is distressing.

That's all for now. See you in the next issue.



LIZBITS

by Neilson Caplain

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIZZIE BORDEN MURDER CASE

Part One of Two

(Editor's note: It is indeed a pleasure to publish the first installment of Mr. Caplain's chronological list of dates, times and events associated with the Andrew Jackson Borden family and the Borden axe-murders. This list will probably become a much sought-after reference document for years to come. It is for this reason that Mr. Caplain joins with me in requesting the readership to provide any sourced additions or corrections. All such items should be sent to myself for evaluation and research. Please include at least one source reference with each proposed entry. We plan to generate ongoing updates to this document and make subsequent editions available exclusively to LBQ subscribers. The authors of all accepted entries will be given credit in succeeding publications.)

"There is nothing neat about murder; its untidy ravels can never be woven into the fabric of time perfectly." (*Everything She Ever Wanted* by Ann Rule)

Proving the above admonition, witnesses in the Lizzie Borden case tended to generalize about times, and authors of the reference books have differed in their reporting. Accordingly, the following is the best estimation of this compiler.

I make no pretense that this chronology is 100% accurate, and any assistance from readers would be very much appreciated.

- ¹⁶³⁵ John and Richard Borden were the first of that name to come to America.
- ¹⁶⁵⁶ Richard, from whom Lizzie was descended (9th generation), settled in Portsmouth, Rhode Island.
- ¹⁷⁹⁸ Abraham Borden, Lizzie's grandfather, was born.
- ¹⁸¹¹ Southard Harrison Miller, neighbor across the street, was born.
- ¹⁸²¹ William M. Almy, Andrew's business partner, was born.
- September 13 • ¹⁸²² Andrew J. Borden was born.
- John Vinnicum Morse was born.
- (According to the Fall River News of March, 1912, Morse was born in 1835.)
- ¹⁸²³ Sarah A. Morse, Andrew J. Borden's first wife, was born.
- ¹⁸²⁴ Rev. Edwin A. Buck, Lizzie's friend and supporter at the trial, was born.

- ¹⁸²⁸ Abby Durfee Gray was born.
- ¹⁸³² Associate Justice Caleb Blodgett was born.
- ¹⁸³⁴ Governor George Dexter Robinson was born. (Lizzie's chief attorney at the trial.)
- ¹⁸³⁶ Associate Justice Justin Dewey was born.
- ¹⁸⁴³ The year of the Great Fire in Fall River.
- ¹⁸⁴⁴ Andrew J. Borden was employed by Southard Miller as a carpenter.
- The Police Station and Court House, in which the Inquest and Preliminary Hearing were held, was built.
- December 25 • ¹⁸⁴⁵ Andrew and Sarah were married.
- The house at 92 Second Street was built by Southard Miller.
- May 20 • ¹⁸⁴⁷ District Attorney Hosea Knowlton was born.
- March 1 • ¹⁸⁴⁹ Emma Lenora Borden was born.
- Attorney Andrew J. Jennings was born.
- Dr. Seabury Bowen was born.
- Hiram C. Harrington, Andrew's brother-in-law, was born.
- ¹⁸⁵¹ Attorney Melvin Ohio Adams was born.
- January • ¹⁸⁵² Alice Russell was born.
- ¹⁸⁵³ District Attorney William Henry Moody was born.
- ¹⁸⁵⁴ Andrew was deeded the house on Ferry Street.
- ¹⁸⁵⁵ John Vinnicum Morse left for the West.
- May 3 • ¹⁸⁵⁶ Alice Esther Borden was born.
- March 10 • ¹⁸⁵⁸ Alice Esther Borden died.
- July 19 • ¹⁸⁶⁰ Lizzie Andrew Borden was born at 12 Ferry Street in Fall River.
- March 26 • ¹⁸⁶³ Sarah Morse Borden died.
- October • ¹⁸⁶⁴ Edwin H. Porter was born. (Author of the first book about the Borden murders)

(Continued on next page)

June 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¹⁸⁶⁵ Andrew Borden and Abby Durfee Gray were married. • Attorney Arthur S. Phillips was born. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • John Vinnicum Morse visited the Bordens. • ¹⁸⁸⁸ Bridget moved to Fall River. • About this time, Lizzie and Emma exchanged rooms.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¹⁸⁶⁷ According to her trial testimony, Bridget Sullivan was born in Ireland. However, her marriage certificate lists her birth date as 1871, her death certificate as 1875 and her will and tombstone as 1873. • John Vinnicum Morse visited Fall River. (His movements before and after the trial are not firmly established) 	<p>January April 14 July June 24</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¹⁸⁹⁰ Bridget was hired by the Bordens. • John Vinnicum Morse returned from the West. • Lizzie began her European tour. • Albert Mason became Chief Justice. • ¹⁸⁹¹ The Borden house was robbed. • Lizzie became a Board Member of the Good Samaritan Hospital.
June 19	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¹⁸⁶⁸ John M. Sullivan, Bridget's husband, was born. 		<p>THE YEAR 1892 BEFORE THE MURDERS</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¹⁸⁷¹ The Bordens moved to 92 Second Street and Andrew purchased the house in 1872. 	<p>April May (First week)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Borden barn was broken into at night. • Lizzie told cloakmaker Mrs. Hannah H. Gifford, who was sewing Lizzie's Bedford Cord dress, that Abby was not her mother.
April 20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¹⁸⁷⁴ Nance O'Neil was born. • ¹⁸⁷⁵ John Vinnicum Morse was a guest at the Borden home. • Mutiny on board the schooner <i>Jefferson Borden</i> was thought to be related to the Borden murders. 	<p>May 9 May (or June) July 15</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Painting of the Borden house began. • Lizzie was interviewed at length by Detective Shaw. (Mrs. Raymond's testimony) • Andrew killed the pigeons in the barn. • Andrew bought back the Ferry Street house from Lizzie and Emma.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¹⁸⁷⁶ Lizzie enrolled in the Fall River High School. • ¹⁸⁷⁸ Andrew retired from Borden & Almy, undertakers. • John Vinnicum Morse visited the Bordens again. 	<p>July 20 July 21 July 23</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The A.J. Borden building neared completion. • Lizzie spies a man at the back door of the Borden home after 9:00 P.M. • Lizzie overheard an argument about a store rental. • Emma visited friends in Fairhaven. • Lizzie went to New Bedford where she stayed overnight in a rooming house and allegedly sought to purchase prussic acid.
December 6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¹⁸⁷⁹ Lizzie left the Fall River High School in her Junior year. • ¹⁸⁸² Albert Mason and Caleb Blodgett were appointed Justices of the Superior Court. • Abraham Borden, Lizzie's grandfather, died. 	<p>July 30 July 31 August 2</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lizzie returned home. • The noted Mutton meal is served for the first of several times at the Borden's. • Andrew admitted there was trouble in the Borden household. • Mr. and Mrs. Borden and Bridget were sick.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¹⁸⁸⁴ Robinson was elected Governor for the first of three one-year terms. • ¹⁸⁸⁵ William M. Almy died. 	<p>Night</p>	<p>WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 3, 1892</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¹⁸⁸⁶ Justin Dewey was appointed to the Superior Court by Governor George Robinson. • Bridget emigrates to America. 	<p>9:00 A.M. 10:00-1130 A.M.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abby, still not feeling well, visited Dr. Bowen. • Lizzie claimed she was in her room all day, but allegedly sought to purchase poison at a local drug store.
October 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ¹⁸⁸⁷ Andrew bought half of the Whitehead house and deeded it to Abby. • Lizzie began calling Abby 'Mrs. Borden.' • Lizzie joined the Central Congregational Church. • Andrew deeded the Ferry Street property to Lizzie and Emma. 	<p>12:35 P.M. c.3:00 P.M. c.3:00 P.M. 7:00 P.M.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • John Vinnicum Morse took a train to Fall River and arrived at the Borden house approximately 1:30 P.M. and ate dinner • Lizzie heard Andrew and Morse talking. • Morse went to the Swansea farm. • Lizzie visited her friend Miss Alice

- Russell.
- 8:45 P.M. • Morse returned to the Borden house.
 - 9:00 P.M. • Lizzie set out for home.
 - 10:10 P.M. • Morse and Andrew went to bed after Mrs. Borden.
 - 10:30 P.M. • Bridget returned from a walk.
 - 11:00 P.M. • Miss M. Marthe and Mrs. Marianne Chagnon heard a noise in back of the Borden house.
 - A newspaper forecasted that the highest August 4 temperature would be 78°.

THE DAY OF THE MURDERS - AUGUST 4, 1892

- 6:00 A.M. • Morse awakened and went downstairs.
- 6:15 A.M. • Bridget awakened and went downstairs.
- 6:30 A.M. • Abby went downstairs.
- 6:35-6:50 A.M. • Andrew went downstairs, emptied slops, picked pears and went to the barn.
- 7:00 A.M. • The Bordens and Morse began breakfast.
- Mrs. Borden told Bridget to wash the windows per Morse's testimony.
- 7:30 A.M. • Abby was busy dusting.
- Bridget ate her breakfast.
- 8:00 A.M. • Bridget cleared the breakfast dishes.
- 8:45 A.M. • Morse went to the Post Office and Weybosset Street.
- 8:50 A.M. • Andrew cleaned his teeth at the hallway sink.
- Bridget went out to the back yard and vomited.
- 8:55 A.M. • Lizzie came downstairs and saw Andrew reading the paper and Abby with a dust cloth.
- 9:00 A.M. • Abby told Lizzie she received a note.
- Lizzie heard a man talking with Andrew about a store. This was the same man who had been there a few weeks ago.
- Bridget returned from the back yard.
- Abby told Bridget to wash the windows. (Morse claims this took place at breakfast time.)
- 9:00-11:00 A.M. • Dr. Handy, Officer Hyde, and two women saw an unidentified strange man near the Borden premises.
- 9:05 A.M. • Abby went to the guest room to put pillowslips on the pillows.
- 9:15 A.M. • Lizzie began ironing handkerchiefs and discovered the fire was not hot enough. She read a magazine.
- c.9:15 A.M. • Andrew went downtown and was reported to be at the barber shop for his daily shave.
- 9:30 A.M. • Abby went to the guest room and was not seen alive thereafter.
- Lizzie went downstairs to the cellar water closet.
- Defense witnesses testified they saw a stranger at the Borden fence and the shutters being closed in the guest room.

- 9:35 A.M. • Andrew arrived at the National Union Bank.
- 9:38 A.M. • Bridget collected tools, closed the windows and met Lizzie at the back door.
- 9:30-10:30 A.M. • **Abby was murdered.**
- 9:45 A.M. • Andrew arrived at the First National Bank.
- 9:50 A.M. • Lizzie took the ironed laundry upstairs.
- 10:00 A.M. • Bridget was seen at the outside windows by Mr. George Ambrose Pettee.
- Morse was at the Emery house on Weybosset Street.
- 10:20 A.M. • Andrew called at Clegg's store and picked up a broken lock.
- 10:25 A.M. • Andrew left downtown after his visit to a second store.
- 10:40 A.M. • Bridget finished washing the outside windows.
- Lizzie went to the cellar for 2 to 3 minutes and then went upstairs to do some minor sewing.
- 10:45 A.M. • Andrew returned home and was seen at the front door by Mrs. Kelly.
- Bridget, not yet finished with the inside windows, opened the door for Andrew and heard Lizzie laugh.
- Lizzie's whereabouts when Andrew returned is not clear. Her inquest answers placed her either in the kitchen or upstairs.
- 10:46 A.M. • Lizzie asked Andrew if she had any mail and told him that Abby received a note. Lizzie went upstairs and again attempted to iron.
- 10:48 A.M. • Andrew took his bedroom key from mantel and went upstairs.
- 10:52 A.M. • Andrew was in the sitting room where Bridget was washing windows. Lizzie asked if Bridget was going out that afternoon. She told Bridget that Abby received a note.
- 10:54 A.M. • Bridget finished washing the windows and saw Lizzie about to iron in kitchen.
- 10:55 A.M. • Lizzie told her about the sale at Sargent's.
- Andrew laid down on the sofa in the sitting room.
- Lizzie allegedly picked pears and went to the barn. (At the inquest she set this time at not less than 5 minutes after Andrew came home. She also put the time at 10:00 A.M.)
- 10:58 A.M. • Bridget went to her third floor bedroom.

(Editor's note: It is regretted that space considerations prohibit concluding this excellent reference document in the current issue. The good news is that it will be completed in the July, 1997 issue of the Lizzie Borden Quarterly.)

THE ROUTE OF HAND TO HELVE

By David Snell

(Editor's note: This is Mr. Snell's maiden article for the LBJ. He calls it a bit of whimsy. Perhaps it is ... Perhaps not ... In his letter to the editor he mentions "One finds in Lizzie pretty much whatever truth one is looking for." Well ... another level to ponder.)

If we may presuppose that, (1) Lizzie acted alone, and (2) more with calculation than without, one has to admire a certain amount of creativity in her ultimate choice of (alleged) weapon. But there must have been a time when a range of such options was considered.

Palpable guilt, in the sense of legal culpability, is necessarily the spawn of intrigue. Motive/means/opportunity are often touted as the essential components of guilt in such cases, but absent proof of acts in furtherance of the crime they are problematic. And it is there that the case was perhaps weakest, and foredoomed to failure.

Say what one might about issues of gender, dream-team defenses and exclusion of "evidence," Lizzie's walk from the charges was a gimme; the prosecution simply could not point to that irretrievable moment of resolve to commit the crime. The alleged attempt to buy prussic acid was as close as they could come. (Knowlton couldn't have been too surprised when such testimony was not allowed. A conspiracy theory is not required to explain why it had to be excluded.)

But, luxuriating in our presuppositions, we can say that such a defining moment must surely have existed. And it is an interesting event to contemplate.

Lizzie knew her motive, by all appearances had her moment of resolve, and was ready to act in furtherance of the crime. She lacked only means and opportunity. Since her adopted means was, and remains, perhaps the constituent factor in her notoriety, we come now to muse upon those external forces which may have guided her thinking on the relative merits of various individual instruments of fatality.

Apparently poison was the early favorite; ideal in a domestic setting, a sort of death by remote control. But her one recorded attempt to acquire some was a clumsy affair, lacking in stealth and inattentive to the possible consequences of a subsequent forensic examination. If indeed she later used another substance to advance that particular plot, at some point perhaps she gained a sense of her rather unworldly approach to the entire matter and became resigned to a somewhat less genteel alternative.

Ticking down the list of the more prosaic options - gun, knife, strangulation, arson, etc. - each would need to be evaluated for effect, practicality and overall chance for success. But whether a hatchet to the head came off a short list or a long one, it was a masterfully clever selection.

Such a weapon could offer unparalleled ease of application, and perhaps as important, it could be produced in the presence of the intended victim(s) without telegraphing murderous intent. It would all but eliminate the chances for an ensuing struggle, and effectively preclude any short- or long-term recovery (whereby our misanthropic woodsperson could be denied anonymity.) It

was virtually klutz-proof, and the whole scenario must have been hard to beat for sheer visceral appeal.

But just how much native inventiveness would it have taken to select a weapon so novel in the annals of drawing-room crime? Maybe a little, maybe a lot. But is it possible she actually took her cue (no pun intended) from -- stay with me on this -- the Tong Wars?

The boo how doys (literally "hatchet son's") brand of gangsterism was a strictly intra-ethnic affair which served to rule San Francisco's Chinatown (and elsewhere) from the 1880s through the earthquake of 1906, with various skirmishes lasting well into the 1920s. There was murder and mayhem on an impressive scale as the various Tongs ("families," "mobs") jockeyed for control of the wealth and power which accrued from organized vice and its attendant callings. Like chow mein, it was an uniquely American construct with no real counterpart in China.

Often known as highbinders, each Tong's army of hit men would use any and all weapons at their disposal, but became widely known as hatchet men (although the term wasn't coined for them), that instrument being a statistically significant weapon of choice in the prosecution of their disputes.

Could Lizzie have had at least a passing acquaintance with the forms and principles of the boo how doy? One author said, "People all over California and the West, and eventually in all corners of the United States, came to know the names of the squalid Chinatown alleys which were the scenes of murders or pitched Tong battles!" Indeed many a lurid and sensational account was to be found in the day's press. Could a bulb have lit up if Lizzie read that one of the authorities expressed dismay when, "... women were frequent victims of assassins?"

Much would, of course, need to be done to elevate all this above pure speculation. But if the Tong Wars had any role whatever in the dynamic which occasioned the Borden's murders, Lizzie was at least savvy enough not to emulate the boo how doys' customs of purposely performing their acts in front of witnesses,³ and leaving the murder weapon beside the victim(s).⁴

Lizzie a novitiate Tongster? Certainly it's a stretch; but who knows what will capture any given person's imagination? But then again, common sense and subsequent events would indicate that it was not essential to have been a media hound in order to have come up with such an idea. It's just another Borden case 'What If' -- something to be made as much of, or as little of, as one pleases.

So, what did Lizzie know and when did she know it? Dunno. To look at the Borden case is to see the questions come thick and fast, the answers hardly at all.

¹ Richard H. Dillon, *The Hatchet Men*, (New York, 1962 1962), p. 245.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Eng Ying Gong and Bruce Grant, *Tong War!*, (New York 1930), p. 15.

FACT OR FANTASY

THE JEFFERSON BORDEN MUTINY IN RELATION TO THE BORDEN MURDERS

(Editor's note: Neilson Caplain included this peculiar rumor in his Chronology. Please see the second 1875 entry on page 6. Thank you Mr. Flynn for clearing up another mystery!)

by Robert A. Flynn

Over the years there has been some speculation that the mutiny on board the schooner *Jefferson Borden* on April 20, 1875 by three crew members had some connection with the Borden case. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Two crew members, George Smith and William Miller, were sentenced to be hanged. The third mutineer, John Clew, who received a lighter sentence of ten years, would have been the only suspect.

It was supposed that Andrew J. Borden was a part-owner of the ship and that the mutineers may have sought revenge by killing him.

BUT, Andrew J. Borden was not a part-owner!

The Jefferson Borden was built in Kennebunk, Maine in October, 1867.

Records of the trial of the Circuit Court of the United States held on September 21, 1875 in Boston indicate that the Captain (William M. Patterson) testified that he owned one-half interest that he purchased in 1872 and that Asa F. and Charles Tift owned one-quarter and George G. Towne the remaining quarter of the vessel.

CASE DISMISSED!



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ERRATUM

An Apology to Mr. William Schley-Ulrich

In the January, 1997 *LBQ*, I wrote an Editor's Note stating that we *hopefully, stamp 'finis' on the (weather) subject*. Unfortunately, this was not to be. Due to a proofreading error in our office, portions of testimony by John Vinnicum Morse and Lizzie Borden in Mr. Schley-Ulrich's article, *Just How Hot Was It?* was unintentionally not included. The following is the complete excerpt of their testimonies as originally written by Mr. Schley-Ulrich.

An Excerpt from the John Vinnicum Morse Trial Testimony (As Reported in the *New Bedford Evening Standard*, June 7, 1893)

- Q. "What sort of day was this Thursday in regard to the temperature?"
A. "Hot."

An Excerpt from the Lizzie Borden August 9-11, 1892 Inquest Testimony (As Reported in the *New Bedford Evening Standard*, June 12, 1893)

- Q. "Whereabouts in the barn did you go?"
A. "Upstairs."
Q. "To the second story of the barn?"
A. "Yes sir."
Q. "How long did you remain there?"
A. "I don't know, fifteen or twenty minutes."

Q. "When you got through looking for lead, did you come down?"
A. "No sir, I went to the west window over the hay, to the west window, and the curtain was slanted a little. I pulled it down."

- Q. "Was the window open?"
A. "I think not."
Q. "Hot?"
A. "Very hot."

- Q. "..... I don't suppose you were there any longer than necessary?"
A. "No sir, because it was too close."

We regret the confusion this may cause our readers. Any subscriber who sends a self-addressed stamped envelope to the Editor will receive, by return mail, the complete corrected article.

The Editor

AN ARMCHAIR SOLUTION TO THE BORDEN MYSTERY

• SOME CLARIFICATIONS AND MODIFICATIONS - PART ONE •

By Fritz Adilz

(Editor's note: We are pleased to welcome back our friend from Sweden. Long-time readers will remember Mr. Adilz for his six-part article beginning in the Spring, 1994 issue and concluding with the April, 1996 edition. His extensive involvement in the continuing Borden saga was not only self-evident, but also intense. Following the conclusion of his manuscript, Fritz wrote a follow-up piece to broaden and modify his original theory. Enough time has now elapsed for early readers to pick up the threads and newcomers to become acquainted with his premise. So, we welcome back Fritz Adilz with some clarifications and modifications. Oh yes, we must first pass on our usual caveat. The "Lizzie Borden Quarterly" does not support or attack any plausible theory. While we may, or may not, agree with any theory, it will be passed on to the readership for their final judgment, as long as it is well-written and documented. Mr. Adilz's article passes both criteria with flying colors.)

THEORY AND CLUES

• a summary of •

Lizzie Andrew Borden and her uncle John Vinnicum Morse conspired to kill Mr. and Mrs. Borden. There is ample circumstantial evidence to say that this is true.

The bulk of the evidence against Lizzie lies in her own inquest testimony.¹ It is safe to say that no one innocent would have made so many lies, evasions, contradictions and absurdities as Lizzie did in her answers to the approximately 850 questions District Attorney Hosea Knowlton put to her.

The following includes some of the evidence against John Morse.

On the day before the murders he came on an unannounced visit. After conversing with Mr. and Mrs. Borden for a little more than an hour, he hired a horse team and proceeded to the Borden farm at Swansea and brought back some eggs to the Borden's. If he had not done this, the man in charge of the farm, Mr. Frank Eddy, would have delivered the eggs himself on the following day (murder day), arriving at 11 o'clock or shortly before.² This would have been disastrous for the murderer. As it now was, Mr. Eddy had no reason to come. There was no legitimate necessity for Mr. Morse to go to the farm - and it should be remembered that it was a hot day which certainly did not make a long ride in a horse team very inviting. His alleged business at the farm could easily have been

discharged by a telephone call or still better he could have waited until Mr. Eddy came with the eggs on the next day and talked to him then. (It is difficult to think that Mr. or Mrs. Borden should not have informed him of Mr. Eddy's expected arrival with the eggs on the next day, had their guest told them that he was going to the farm to discuss the cattle transfer with Mr. Eddy). The inevitable conclusion is that John Morse went to the farm to collect the eggs in order to prevent Mr. Eddy from coming with them himself on the murder day.

John Morse's alibi is far too good and detailed to be normal. Many writers about the case have commented on that.

Many writers have also commented on Mr. Morse's bizarre behavior when returning to the Borden homestead for dinner. He ignored all the people around and went directly into the back yard to munch some pears. Until now this odd behavior of Mr. Morse's has not been explained. The reason he went directly to the rear of the house was that he wanted to see for himself that the cellar door was unlocked. The possibility of access to the house from the cellar was an important part of the murder plan. Mr. Morse was disappointed. He found the cellar door locked. Nevertheless he tried to maintain, at the pretrial and also on other occasions, that the cellar door had been open.³

Lizzie's reaction to Mr. Knowlton's questions about her uncle is astounding. If there had not been any conspiracy between herself and her uncle, i.e. if Morse had had nothing to do with the murders, there is no reason why Lizzie would not have answered the questions about her uncle in the same firm and collected manner that she answered questions about the data, regarding herself, her sister, her father and step-mother. But instead, to acknowledge the impression made on Victoria Lincoln, she panicked.⁴ Her answers were blotted with confusion and contradiction. Her repeated assurances that she had not seen her uncle, and had not even pronounced his name correctly, seem grossly exaggerated.

Mr. Morse arrived at the Borden home without luggage. He did not even bring a toothbrush. The reason for this was that he did not know beforehand if he could go back to the Borden's when leaving the Emery's, or if he must proceed directly to South Dartmouth.⁵ It all depended on whether the murders were done early

(before lunchtime) or late (after lunchtime). If early - he would go back to the Borden's. If late - he must proceed directly to South Dartmouth. He was to be informed by a telephone call. But if he had left luggage at the Borden home, it would have



Uncle John Vinnicum Morse newspaper sketch c.1880

Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Fall River Historical Society.

looked suspicious if he had gone directly to South Dartmouth without first collecting his luggage. The only way to avoid this dilemma would be to have no luggage at all.

The theory also lends a credible explanation as to why Lizzie was trying to buy prussic acid. It is natural that she should have wanted a possibility of escaping the shame and punishment, had the murder plan failed. What she said during her visit to Miss Alice Russell on the eve of the murders shows that she was deeply distressed.

Lizzie and her uncle conspired in the murders. The evidence, logical deductions and the conjectures based on them form, when put together, a pattern that is irresistible. But neither of them killed in person. That means they must have had a confederate. This confederate was brought into the house during the night preceding the murders. A natural candidate for this role would be Mr. William Davis, the man at whose house Mr. Morse was staying. William Davis and his father Isaac, who was blind, owned a small slaughter house.⁶ (In the first essay the names of the father and son were mixed up.)

The above theory also explains why there was no blood to be seen on Lizzie's person and clothing and why no murder weapon was ever found. The extremely brutal and bloody murder method was chosen coolly and with care as a way to clear Lizzie of suspicion. A lot of blood must have splashed on the killer, yet there would not be a speck on Lizzie. She had to be in the house during the murders to advise and assist the killer in his gruesome task and the absence of blood on her as well as the absence of the murder weapon would be the best alibi she could get under the circumstances.

There are also signs that Lizzie's sister Emma had known about and consented to the murders. Her break-down during an interview with Mr. Maguire of the Boston Sunday Post in 1913⁷ is very telling, indicating a long-since tormented conscience and maybe a frustration of having to let her sister stand alone in the public scorn.

But there is more to be said.....

THE CELLAR DOOR

The cellar door plays an important part in the drama. The plan was that it should be found unlocked. One possibility to achieve this would have been for Lizzie to leave for the barn through the cellar. That may have seemed simple enough but it didn't happen that way. Officer F. L. Edson reports from his visit to the Borden home on August 5 at about 7.15 A.M.⁸ that Bridget Sullivan and John Morse were in the kitchen, Miss Lizzie came in. She said 'Maggie, are you sure the back cellar door was fastened?' Bridget said 'Yes, Marm.' It is interesting to note that John Morse was present but did not object to Bridget's assurance about the cellar door being locked. If he had, surely Officer Edson would have mentioned it. There is a possibility, however, that Mr. Morse had left the room.

One possibility is that Lizzie unlocked the cellar door in the course of the morning hours. But there would have been some risk to that. Suppose that "Maggie" when she went down to collect wood or coal to start her morning fire for some reason had wanted to go out in the back yard. The risk that she would do that may not have been great but it was there. For that reason I

think it more likely that John Morse at some time before he went to bed, went down cellar and unlocked the door. If "Maggie" on the following morning had wanted to go out in the back yard she would have found the cellar door unfastened and for all the conspirators knew, she would have testified to that effect. But in all likelihood this would never be put to the test.

But if Mr. Morse unlocked the cellar door why was it later found locked? Because Bridget, probably on returning her pail to the laundry, accidentally discovered that the door was unfastened and then she fastened it. But if she did, why didn't she say so, why did she keep quiet about it? To answer this question you have to put yourself in her shoes. She knew that the last person to use the cellar door was probably herself when she hung the washed clothes out. That happened on Tuesday the 2nd. When she now saw that the cellar door was unlocked she must have had a shock. Had she forgotten to lock it? What a luck Mr. Borden hadn't discovered that!

Then she was in for a far greater shock. Her employers had been murdered and there was considerable fuss over how the assassin could have gotten into the house. Was she responsible? Had her negligence enabled the killer to get in? What if the police would think that she had deliberately helped the murderer to get in, that she was in fact an accomplice? She decided to keep her mouth shut. If questioned she would maintain that she had locked the cellar door on Tuesday. Then Mr. Morse came and said that he had seen the cellar door open when he returned from the Emery's but that did not give her a moment's concern. She knew for a fact that the door had *not* been open as she had locked it herself a while before.

There are of course some question marks with this explanation. Bridget must have realized that she was making things worse for Lizzie by not admitting that the cellar door had in fact been unlocked. What would she have done if Lizzie had been convicted?

It seems as if Bridget tried to make amends at the pretrial.⁹ She then repeatedly declared that she had not noticed if the cellar door had been unbolted or not. Compare this with her firm assertion in the presence of Officer Edson that the cellar door was fastened.

JOHN V. MORSE

When Mr. Morse came back to the Borden homestead at approximately 11:40 he ignored the people around and went directly into the back yard to eat a couple of pears. Many writers have noticed this odd behavior and Mr. Knowlton during his questioning of Mrs. Churchill, Mr. Sawyer and Dr. Bowen, tried to establish that there had been a crowd around when Mr. Morse returned. However, if there is independent proof that Mr. Morse knew of the murders *before* he entered the premises, the question of the presence of a crowd loses its significance.

*The Evening Standard*¹⁰ reports the following on August 5, from an interview with Mr. Morse, "And I thought you told me," resumed the interviewer, "that you first learned of this affair by a telephone message when you were in another part of the city."

"You are mistaken," said Mr. Morse, "I said no such thing."

"But you did," persisted his questioner, "and I will take my oath on it."

(Continued on next page)

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"You are mistaken," Morse replied once more.

There can be no doubt that Mr. Morse really got that telephone call. That means that he did know of the murders when he entered the Borden premises. In view of this, can his going into the back yard instead of entering the house at once have an innocent explanation? It is hard to see how it can if you add the fact that he did not inform Mrs. Emery and his niece of the tragedy when he took his leave (if he had the ladies would have mentioned it to Officer Medley and the reporters) and that - apart from his first admission that he had received a telephone message - he always maintained that he first learned of the tragedy when he came to the side door and Bridget told him.

The telephone call was a signal to him that he could now go back to the Borden house. He must have been most anxious to go back there as soon as possible to follow the development of the investigation on the spot but also to establish that the cellar door was unlocked. Had it been he would undoubtedly have called the attention to that fact by entering the house through the cellar. As it now was he could only ponder the possibilities. Who had locked it? Could it have been Mr. Borden? In that case the conspirators might be in trouble. But hopefully Bridget or a policeman had found the door unlocked and locked it. In that case the person in question would testify that the door had been open. All he could do was to hope for the best. Later in the day when he and Lizzie had a moment to themselves they must have talked the matter over and as a consequence Lizzie put that question to Bridget on the following morning in the presence of Officer Edson.

A bit of speculation: The pounding on the Borden fence that the ladies Chagnon heard at about 11:00 P.M. the day before the murders could have been made by the perpetrator using the blunt part of his hatchet head. But why should he do that? Well, the plan was that the cellar door should be found unlocked. Had it been, this in connection with the pounding would have suggested that the killer had climbed the fence, prowled around in the back yard, found the cellar door unlocked and entered by it. The man Charles Gifford and Uriah Kirby found lying on the steps of the latter's home may well have been the murderer, pretending to be asleep.

What does all this amount to? Looking back on it I realize that I have been trying to strengthen a case that never needed strengthening in the first place.

EMMA BORDEN

There is one thing whose full significance has been overlooked

and that shows in a conclusive way that Emma Borden was involved in the murders. At the inquest,¹¹ she made the following statement.

Q: More than once a year, I mean before he (Morse) came east?

A: Oh, I corresponded with him regularly when he was west.

Q: He was enough of an uncle then to be a correspondent?

A: He is a very dear uncle of ours, of mine.

Q: You corresponded with him regularly?

A: Yes, Sir.

There are two things to be considered in this brief dialog. First, Mr. Knowlton had been led to believe that there were no cordial feelings between the girls and their uncle, at least not as far as Lizzie was concerned.

He was enough of an uncle then to be a correspondent? At this time Lizzie had already testified that she had avoided her uncle on his last visit.

Second, Emma gives a spontaneous answer to the above question, saying he is a very dear uncle of ours, but then thinks the better of it and adds; "of mine."

There is ample evidence that Lizzie and her uncle colluded in these murders. But how could they have done so if they had not felt confidence and trust in each other, if their feelings for one another had been

unfriendly? In its edition of August 24 *The Evening Standard*¹² gives a rather moving picture of Uncle John. It tells of an old man carrying a basket filled with Lizzie's supper, and lumbering from Second Street to the police station with a bunch of gamins at his heels laughing and poking fun at him. At the police station he is not allowed to see his niece in spite of a previous promise that he would be admitted to her presence, but sits down in the guardroom and waits patiently for her to finish her meal so he can take the basket with him when he leaves. This is not a picture of a man who did not care for his imprisoned niece, no, this is the picture of a man who had great affection for her and of course those sentiments were reciprocal. And Emma must have known.

The first part of Emma's answer was undoubtedly true. John Morse was a very dear uncle to the sisters, to both of them. Then why the correction "of mine?" As Victoria Lincoln¹³ has pointed out, Lizzie completely lost her sangfroid when she was questioned about her uncle at the inquest. And she had good reason to be frightened. On August 8th, the day before she was interrogated about her uncle, Mr. George B. Fish who was the husband of Mrs. Borden's sister Priscilla, publicly voiced his opinion that Lizzie and her uncle had concocted the deed and



A picture of the Borden House at the time of the murders. Please note the side yard where John Vinnicum Morse stood and ate pairs in the midst of great excitement.

Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Fall River Historical Society.

hired someone to do it. Mr. Morse was asked what he had to say to this accusation. Here is his answer according to *The Evening Standard*¹⁴ on August 9th. "Nothing at all. Mr. Jennings, our counsel, has advised us to have nothing to say for publication." The reporter insisted, "But that directly implicates you and Miss Borden. Have you nothing to say to that?" Mr. Morse replied, "You know as well as I do what grounds there are for such an absurd charge as that. It is entirely unreasonable; that is all I will say."

It goes without saying that Mr. Morse told the sisters about his encounter with the reporter. The three of them must have realized that if Mr. Fish could make the connection between Lizzie and her uncle so could the authorities. They must have recognized how dangerous the situation was. The only way to handle this would be to disassociate Lizzie as much as possible from her uncle. At the inquest¹⁵ Lizzie insisted that she had not seen her uncle, had not mentioned him and didn't know anything about his visit. The unspoken reason to understand was, of course, that she detested the man. And Mr. Knowlton fell for it as have so many researchers after him.

And now Emma blurts out, "He is a very dear uncle of ours not of Lizzie's, for God's sake, NOT OF LIZZIE'S of mine." Two small and seemingly innocuous words, and yet they show us as clearly as a fingerprint that Emma was involved in the murders.

THE SELECTION OF THE MURDER DAY

Two criteria had to be met:

- 1) Mr. Borden must go about his banking business
- 2) Bridget must be out of the way

The only day of the week that met these criteria was Thursday. On Thursdays Bridget had the day off as soon as she had prepared for dinner which was served at noon. The question is if the fact that Bridget washed the windows was a condition under the second criterion. Could the conspirators have known beforehand that Bridget would wash the windows on this particular Thursday? Bridget's own testimony given at the pretrial¹⁶ seems to contradict that.

- Q: Did you have any usual time to wash the windows?
A: No, Sir.
Q: How often did you used to wash them?
A: Sometimes once a month and probably twice a month.

But in her inquest testimony,¹⁷ her neighbor, Mrs. Adelaide Churchill says differently.

- Q: Do you remember how long before that time she had been out washing the windows, whether that same week or the week before?
A: I don't think she washed windows but once a week, and Thursday was generally the day.
Q: It was the habit to wash the windows once a week?
A: She generally did.

In the face of this precise and definite testimony it is difficult

to understand why Bridget was so evasive on this point. It is to be believed that the conspirators knew well in advance that Bridget was to wash the windows on this Thursday and that that fact was part of their plan.

THE MURDER OF MRS. BORDEN

How it was organized:

The question is, how could Lizzie be sure that her stepmother would not make the guest room before her father left for his morning tour, and if she did, how could Lizzie be sure that she would go back there? If she didn't the murder could not take place. One could, of course, argue that before the first murder was committed the conspirators could afford to take certain chances. They did not run any risks then. But still they would have wanted the chances that the murders could be carried out to be as good as possible.

Another question. In her inquest testimony¹⁸ Lizzie said that, when she met her stepmother, after coming downstairs, Abby told her she had already made the bed. She also told Asst. Marshal Fleet that she had actually seen her stepmother in the guest room making the bed as she was going downstairs.¹⁹ She never repeated this statement. But if it was not true, why did she lie about it?

The reason the conspirators knew that Mrs. Borden would not make the guest room too early was a simple one. The guest room was the girls' responsibility, not Mrs. Borden's.

At the inquest²⁰ Emma said:

- A: I always took charge of the parlor, my sister and I, we always took charge of the guest chamber and our own rooms.
Q: That is, you and your sister did that?
A: Yes, Sir.
Q: Not your separate duty, but yours and hers?
A: I did most of it, sometimes she assisted.
Q: Did your mother never have charge of the guest chamber?
A: I did not know that she ever did. When I was home I don't think she ever did.
Q: You don't know how it happened that she was having the work of the guest chamber on this morning that she died?
A: No, Sir.

And Bridget said at the pretrial:²¹

- Q: You had nothing to do with the work in the spare room?
A: No, Sir.
Q: Do you know who did do the work in the spare room?
A: I did not know as Mrs. Borden ever done it before, excepting her own friends were there.
Q: Whether she did that morning, you don't know?
A: No, Sir.

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It then follows that Mrs. Borden would not go to do work in the guest room. That left the timing entirely to Lizzie. She probably overheard Mrs. Borden telling Bridget to wash the windows, in fact this instruction may well have been instigated by Lizzie. A little later, with "Maggie" out of earshot, Lizzie would have said, "Mother" (I suggest she said 'Mother' on this occasion), "I don't feel quite well. Would you please help me with the guest room?" And the two ladies would have climbed the stairs together to do the work.

But what about the other question, that Mrs. Borden allegedly told Lizzie that she had made the bed in the guest room, when they met downstairs. Why should Lizzie lie about that? There is an answer. If Lizzie and her stepmother had met downstairs and then Mrs. Borden had gone to the guest room to do work, that is to the spot where she was to be killed, Lizzie might have feared that the police would think that she had deliberately sent her stepmother to her death. But if Lizzie was faced with a fait accompli when coming downstairs, or in other words, if her stepmother told her that she had already made the bed, then it would be a different matter. One might ask, of course, why Mrs. Borden would have done this as it was Lizzie's task, but then Lizzie would just say, "Well, I don't know, but she told me she had." And that would be that.

To back up this story she told Mr. Fleet that she had actually seen her stepmother in the guest room making the bed as she was going downstairs.²² There is a reason why she never told this story again. She may have feared the following question: "Knowing that this work was your responsibility, why did you not go in and help her or say, Lay off, Mrs. Borden, I'll do this as soon as I've got my breakfast?"

THE IDENTITY OF THE KILLER

Anyone who visits the Borden house may satisfy himself or herself on this issue. There was no way a killer could have hidden behind the wide open guest room door in order to spring a surprise attack on Mrs. Borden. The door was too small to cover a full-grown man. His whole left arm and shoulder would have protruded and been clearly visible from anywhere in the room. In other words, Todd Lunday²³ was quite right when he said that there was no way a killer could have attacked Mrs. Borden without leaving her time to scream for help. Or at least, that was nothing a killer could have counted on.

The door being too small left only one possibility. The killer must approach his victim quite openly, wearing his protective clothing and having his hatchet ready, all this without evoking her suspicion. When he was near enough he must strike her down rapidly before she had time to scream. This could be done, even easily done, if Mrs. Borden knew, or at least knew of, the man who was to be the assassin. If she was given a reasonable explanation why he was thus outfitted and if he was introduced by Lizzie, the following could have happened.

Lizzie and her stepmother are in the guest room and start to make the bed. Suddenly Lizzie exclaims, "Oh, I just forgot to say something to "Maggie." I'll be back in a minute." She leaves the guest room and goes through the kitchen, where she finds "Maggie" at the screen door on her way to the barn to pick up a handle for her brush. The reason Lizzie went down there is to

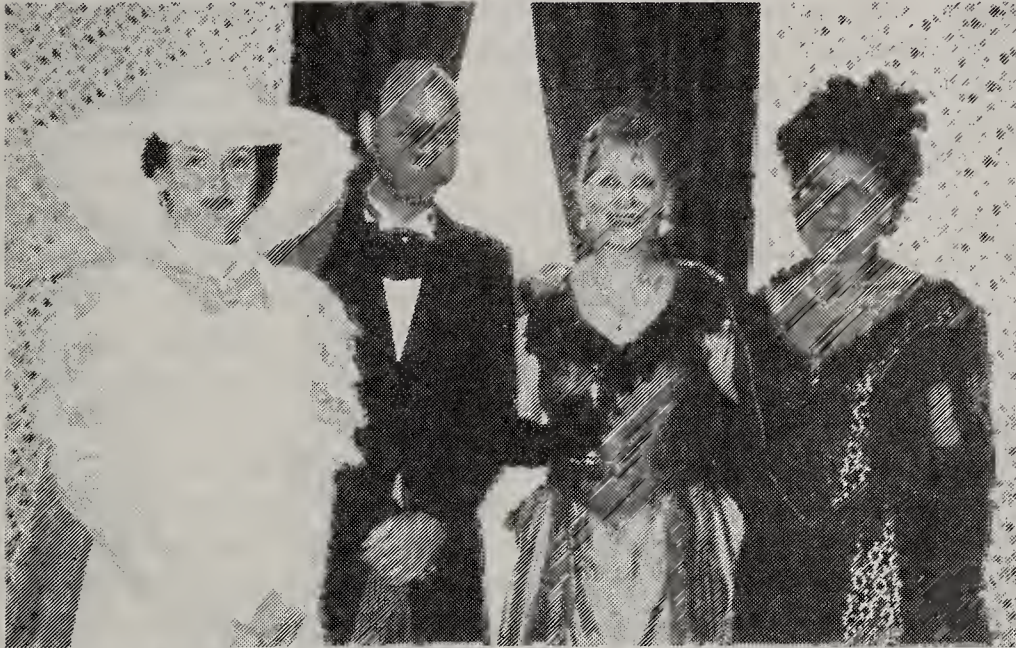
check if "Maggie" has started her window-washing yet. Back in the guest room she continues to work with her stepmother. When the bed is just about made Lizzie says, "I think I hear someone at the door. I'll go and check." She leaves the room and draws the door after her. The landing is now blocked from Mrs. Borden's view. As Lizzie starts descending the stairs she exclaims, "I am coming!" This exclamation is the signal to the killer who is secreted in Emma's room, wearing his butcher's outfit and with a hatchet in his hand.

- ¹ Lizzie Borden inquest testimony, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ² Stenographer's minutes of police reports, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ³ Pretrial testimonies, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ⁴ Victoria Lincoln - *A Private Disgrace*, 1967
- ⁵ Stenographer's minutes of police reports, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ⁶ Stenographer's minutes of police reports, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ⁷ Stenographer's minutes of police reports, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ⁸ Frank Spiering: *Lizzie*, 1984
- ⁹ Pretrial testimonies, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ¹⁰ *Lizzie Borden, Did She Or Didn't She* - a collection of reproduced pages from *The Evening Standard*
- ¹¹ Inquest testimonies, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ¹² *Lizzie Borden, Did She Or Didn't She* - a collection of reproduced pages from *The Evening Standard*
- ¹³ Victoria Lincoln: *A Private Disgrace* 1967
- ¹⁴ *Lizzie Borden, Did She Or Didn't She* - a collection of reproduced pages from *The Evening Standard*
- ¹⁵ Lizzie Borden inquest testimony, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ¹⁶ Pretrial testimonies, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ¹⁷ Inquest testimonies, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ¹⁸ Lizzie Borden inquest testimony, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ¹⁹ Stenographer's minutes of police reports, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ²⁰ Inquest testimonies, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ²¹ Pretrial testimonies, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ²² Stenographer's minutes of police reports, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- ²³ Todd Lunday - *The Mystery Unveiled*, 1893

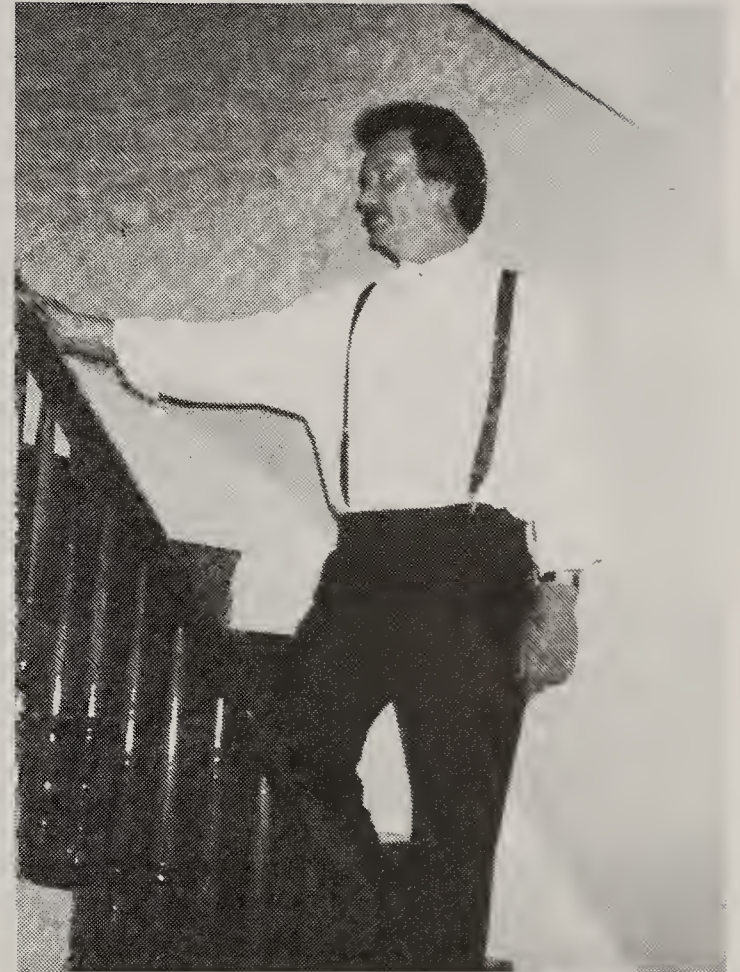
(Editor's note: We regret the necessity to interrupt Mr. Adilz's narrative at this point, especially since it will be three months before the next quarterly. However, space limitations must prevail. So, let us part from Fritz's woven thread of thoughts, ponder on them, and pick up the thread again)

PICTURES OF LIZZIE THINGS

By Jeannine H. Bertolet



Theresa Minear, Dave Echols, Martha McGinn and Donna Couto at the opening of 92 Second Street to the public.



Ron Evans, co-owner of the house on Second Street, walking down those fabled stairs!



The *Lizzie Borden Quarterly* Publisher and his charming wife, Mr. and Mrs. Jules Ryckebusch.



Talented artist Rochelle St. Martin-Pettenati standing underneath her painting in Lizzie's Second Street bedroom.



Mrs. Florence Brigham, flanked by two friends, at the Bristol Community College Conference, August 3, 1992.

HOSEA KNOWLTON FOR THE PROSECUTION

(Continued from Page 1)

itinerant one, taking in its range Durham, Hampden, Auburn, and Oldtown, Maine; Keene, New Hampshire; South Boston and New Bedford, Massachusetts; in the last-mentioned of which he fixed his permanent residence. He prepared for College at the High Schools of Oldtown and Bangor, Maine; Keene, New Hampshire; and Powers Institute, Bernardston. Entering Tufts College, he graduated in 1867, and after reading law for one year in the Harvard Law School, was admitted to the Bar in 1870. He then opened a law office in New Bedford, where he practiced with such marked success as to make his record a matter of general public interest. In less than two years after he began to practice, he was appointed Registrar of Bankruptcy for the First District of Massachusetts and held the office until it was legally abolished. From 1874-1877 he was a member of the School Committee of New Bedford, City Solicitor in 1875, Representative in 1876-7, State Senator in 1878-9, District Attorney for the Southern District of Massachusetts, 1879-93, and in 1894 was elected Attorney General of the State. This public service, continuous almost from his graduation, is an admirable illustration of the old Persian proverb that "A stone that is fit for the wall will not be left in the way."

A further elaboration is carried in the Errata volume. The entry on page 117 was written by my father, Frank Warren Knowlton, and reads as follows:

AN ENTRY FROM GEORGE HENRY KNOWLTON'S ERRATA VOLUME

The Honorable Hosea Morrill Knowlton was stricken with apoplexy at his summer home, Marion, Massachusetts, December 6, and died there December 18, 1902. His funeral was held at New Bedford, Massachusetts, December 22, where there was an impressive service in the First Universalist Church, of which he was a member, and superintendent of its Sabbath school. An immense throng, among them Governor Crane and many other State and public officials, and a large representation of the bench and bar of the Commonwealth, assembled to mourn over their beloved departed friend. The Knowlton Association was represented by the president, George Warren Knowlton. Dr. Elmer H. Capen, President of Tufts College, prayed that "the Commonwealth might ever find as faithful servants as was he." The whole city of New Bedford was in mourning and a picture of sadness. Banks were closed at noon; everywhere flags drooped at half-mast; and the bell in the old stone tower tolled its requiem.

So much, then, for the genealogical information about the man. To flesh out this picture, let us add No. 73 in a series of sketches of New Bedford's early history entitled *New Bedford. Lawyers of the Past*, by William M. Emery. It is reprinted from a series of articles published in the *New Bedford Sunday Standard-Times*, 1943-1944.

HOSEA M. KNOWLTON ARTICLE

"Because of a long-continued friendship, I hail with joy the opportunity of writing about Hosea Morrill Knowlton, whom I admired not only for his towering abilities, but more deeply for

those humane qualities which endear a man to his associates. I knew him from my childhood, as we lived in the same neighborhood, and my father's family and his always held each other in warmest regard.

"He was ever ready to do a favor for a friend. One day, during a Superior Court session in this city, I sat, as a reporter on guard, in an anteroom, longing for a cigar, and regretting stores were too far distant. Mr. Knowlton did not have a cigar in his pockets, but said, "I'll get you one." Going into the courtroom he quickly returned with the desired "smoke," remarking, "I wheedled this off the high sheriff for you." How many other men would have bothered to do that? I am happy to add the time came when I reciprocated his courtesy.

"Hosea Knowlton, under stress, might speak tersely and with seeming finality at times -- brusquely, some would call it. This, however, could not detract from his winning personality. That he was a popular vote-getter is shown by his repeated elections, by large majorities, as District Attorney and Attorney General, as well as previously to other offices. The public sensed his kindness of heart, his intellectual vigor, his courage and honesty, his tenacity of purpose, his fair-mindedness, his sincerity, his unsullied integrity. His rugged individualism inspired confidence as a bulwark of security. His powerful physique betokened a long life with further honors in store, but he fell a victim to overwork in his 56th year, a man of the people to the last."

HIGHLY REGARDED BY ALL

"Mr. Knowlton touched a warm spot in the heart of each of his fellows in the legal profession. On the occasion of his retirement from the office of Attorney General a dinner was tendered him by the members of the bar, regarding which Attorney Milton Reed of Fall River wrote: "That Saxon berserker almost wept that night at the overflow of affection for him." His immediate successor as Attorney General, Herbert Parker, testified, "Never did man give of friendship in fuller or more generous measure than he."

"Hosea Knowlton is remembered today as the prosecutor in the far-famed Borden murder case, in which, although he did not win a jury verdict, he won laurels. I cannot do better, in summarizing his course in this case, than to quote the words of the memorial prepared by the New Bedford Bar at the time of his death: "In the Borden trial his work was masterly, and his final argument therein has been pronounced one of the strongest portrayals of facts ever heard in an American court of justice; it made him famous throughout the country, and led to his selection as Attorney General."

"I well remember that closing argument. The courtroom on County Street was jammed literally to suffocation -- it was a hot day in June -- and a throng stood on the stairway for hours listening to his words. He spoke with a splendor of diction that awed and impressed all, and his analysis of the evidence was keen and penetrating. The peroration was eloquent. He told the jurors, "I do not put it on so low ground as to ask you to avenge these horrid deaths. I do not put it even on the ground of asking you to do credit to the good old Commonwealth of Massachusetts. I lift you higher than that, gentlemen. I advance you to the altitude of the conscience that must be the final master of us all.

"Rise, gentlemen, rise to the altitude of your duty. Act as

you would be reported to act when you stand before the Great White Throne at the last day. What shall be your reward? The ineffable consciousness of duty done. Only he who hears the voice of his inner consciousness, it is the voice of God Himself, saying to him, 'Well done, good and faithful servant,' can enter into the reward and lay hold of eternal life."

A COURT CALLED HOSTILE

"The courtroom was hushed. As the solemn words came to a close "a spell upon the silent listeners fell." This is not the place to go into the history of the Lizzie Andrew Borden trial on the charge of slaying her father and stepmother, but the public may well be apprised, even after all these years, that Mr. Knowlton and his associate, District Attorney William H. Moody, worked under the disadvantage of a court hostile to them, with exclusion of certain pieces of the prosecution's vital evidence that eminent legal minds now declare should have been admitted, and with a judge's charge to the jury that was in effect an argument to free the defendant. Then too, a wave of sentimentality swept over the country in favor of the accused, of which Mr. Knowlton was duly informed through many disagreeable and even threatening letters received from numerous localities. But he was not one to shirk from the performance of the duty which he urged on the jury that momentous afternoon. And so, on the pages of legal history, all honor goes to him for his courage in facing a distasteful task."

Mr. Knowlton was born in Durham, Maine, May 20, 1847. He was a son of the Rev. Isaac Case and Mary Smith (Wellington) Knowlton, and through both parents had lineage from clergymen. From 1866 to 1871 his father was pastor of the Universalist Church in this city, and thus the son came to establish his home here. Hosea Knowlton always took an active part in the affairs of this church, served as its treasurer, and for 28 years, from 1874 until his death, was superintendent of its Sunday School.

He graduated from Tufts College with honors in 1867, being salutatorian of his class. Thirty years later, Tufts conferred on him the degree of LL.D. For two years following graduation he taught school and then studied law with Edwin L. Barney in this city and at Harvard Law School. Admitted to the bar in June 1870, he began practice in Boston and hung out his shingle about a year later. In 1871, he was a candidate for the office of clerk of the local police court, then an elective position, but he was defeated, not being so well-known as his opponent.

FORMED PARTNERSHIP

In 1872, he formed a partnership with Mr. Barney that continued for seven years. The senior member in that period was also a law partner of General Benjamin F. Butler in Boston and it fell to Mr. Knowlton to look after the local end of the practice while Mr. Barney was at his office in the Hub. Subsequently, with Arthur E. Perry, the firm of Knowlton and Perry was established, the association continuing until Mr. Knowlton's death, with the admission of Otis S. Cook in 1900 to the firm of Knowlton, Perry and Cook.

Mr. Knowlton was equipped with all the qualities of a

successful lawyer, which he soon became. To his many other attributes he added rare common sense. A contemporary in the profession, Thomas M. Stetson, said of him, "He knew human nature, and could read a witness with unfailing precision." I recall how I liked his way of handling a witness who was lacking in education. Mr. Knowlton would phrase his questions in the most commonplace and everyday language, that the man could understand, omitting all big words, and would succeed in getting replies faster than if he had been 'high hat.'

Milton Reed said, "New Bedford had the two ablest advocates I ever heard on a case, George Marston and Hosea M. Knowlton. There is a tendency among some lawyers to distort evidence, but Knowlton was one of the most honest men I ever saw."

Political honors came thick upon him. He held public office continuously for 30 years. He served New Bedford as City Solicitor. In 1872, he became register in bankruptcy for the 1st District of Massachusetts and remained until the office was abolished in 1878. For three years he was a member of the School Committee. In 1876 and 1877 he served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives and in 1878 and 1879 in the State Senate. His eloquent and common-sense utterances made him popular as a public speaker.

BECAME DISTRICT ATTORNEY

When George Marston resigned as district attorney to enter on the office of Attorney General in 1879, Mr. Knowlton succeeded him in the former position. After 15 years incumbency, Mr. Knowlton in turn resigned to become Attorney General in 1894, and continued for eight years, through 1901. During this period, at the request of Governor W. Murray Crane, he gave efficient service as a member of a commission to revise the corporation laws of Massachusetts.

"His administration of the office of Attorney General marked an entire change in the method of conducting the legal business of the Commonwealth and evinced constructive ability of the highest order," said the New Bedford Bar Association Memorial. Attorney General Herbert Parker declared, "His opinions are recognized as among the most instructive contributions to the body of our law, and are accepted as approaching the authority of the adjudication of our Supreme Court." It has always been understood that Mr. Knowlton was at one time offered a Supreme Court appointment.

Both as District Attorney and Attorney General, he tried a number of capital cases, generally obtaining verdicts of guilty. In two such trials, not the Borden case, the finding in one was murder in the first degree, and in the other manslaughter. He convicted John C. Best of the murder of George E. Bailey on a farm at Saugus in 1901. Judge Edgar J. Sherman of the Superior Court, wrote in his reminiscences that this "was one of the most satisfactory and conclusively proven cases of circumstantial evidence ever tried."

Mr. Knowlton survived his retirement from the Attorney Generalship for only a year. During that time, he formed the partnership of Knowlton, Hallowell and Hammond. His associates were assistant Attorneys General with offices in Boston. Mr. Knowlton did not give up his New Bedford Offices.

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from previous page)

The Hosea M. Knowlton School at County and Peckham Streets was named in his honor.

MARRIED SYLVIA ALMY

He married Sylvia Bassett Almy of this city on May 22, 1873. She was the daughter of Benjamin and Sophia (Allen) Almy of Eighth Street. A woman of fine culture and of a lovable disposition, she was very active and popular in various public interests. She served two terms as a member of the School Committee. Around the turn of the century, as the second president of the New Bedford Woman's Club, the honor of introducing Winston Churchill fell to her when the future Prime Minister of England lectured about his experiences in the Boer War. Her later life was passed in or near Boston, and in Marion. Mrs. Knowlton died in March, 1937, in her 86th year.

There were four sons and three daughters: John W. Knowlton, Frank W. Knowlton, and Mrs. Maynard Hutchinson (Helen S. Knowlton), all deceased: Dr. Edward A. Knowlton of Holyoke; Benjamin A. Knowlton of Columbia, South Carolina; Abby A. Knowlton of Wellesley, and Mrs. James H. Lewis (Sylvia P. Knowlton) of Worcester. After his father's death, John Knowlton studied law, was admitted to the bar, and for a few years before his early death was in the office of Perry and Cook in this city. Frank Knowlton entered his father's profession earlier, and became a member of one of the leading law firms in Boston, taking high rank in the legal field.

Mr. Knowlton and family lived for a number of years on Court Street, near Cottage, and later at the southeast corner of Union and Cottage Streets, not far from the former Union Street residence of Attorney General George Marston. They also had a Summer residence at Marion. Of not more than medium height, Mr. Knowlton was of robust figure and impressive presence, which, with his deep voice, added to the effectiveness of his oratory, whether in the courtroom, or in an occasional address in a public hall. His hair and beard were sandy. For several years in later life, he was clean-shaven. He had some ability at the piano and would play a polka, and his children and their young friends would dance. In the tradition of his times, when the organist at the Universalist Church was unexpectedly absent, he once filled in.

WON AGAINST OLD OPPONENT

His closing year was marked by constant attention to his private practice. It is a singular coincidence that in his last court trial, not long before he was stricken with his fatal illness, he opposed an antagonist of some years before in the Borden case, Andrew J. Jennings of Fall River. This time the tables were reversed, as Mr. Knowlton won for a young woman a \$15,000 verdict in a suit for breach of promise of marriage against a city official, both parties being of Fall River, where the case was tried. The loser paid the award.

Mr. Knowlton was deeply affected by the death, as the result of an accident in Boston of his venerable mother, in the Summer of 1902, shortly before she was to make her home in his family. He died at his Marion home December 18, 1902, from a shock sustained shortly after Thanksgiving. Funeral services were held

in the Universalist Church in this city on December 22, and all the lawyers' offices in New Bedford closed that afternoon as a mark of respect. By his request the ashes of the deceased attorney were scattered over the waters of the bay at Marion. His name is inscribed on a cenotaph in Rural Cemetery, where repose the ashes of Mrs. Knowlton. In April, 1903, wonderful tributes were paid to the memory of Hosea Knowlton by members of the bar at a session of the State Supreme Court in Taunton. From the walls of the Superior Court room in this city his portrait, gift of the New Bedford Bar Association, looks down on the scene of his former activities.

On the preceding page we have mentioned that Sylvia Bassett Almy became the wife of Hosea Morrill Knowlton. When she died in March, 1937, the New Bedford Standard-Times published the following obituary in their issue of April 1, 1937. (More details will be found in a later discussion of the Almy lineage.)

MRS. SYLVIA BASSETT KNOWLTON

"Mrs. Sylvia Bassett Knowlton, widow of Hosea Morrill Knowlton, former attorney general of Massachusetts, died in Milton Wednesday evening in her 86th year. Daughter of Benjamin and Sophia (Allen) Almy, she was born in this city January 20, 1852, in the stone residence at the corner of Eighth Street and Mechanics Lane.

"Her father was a well-known and substantial citizen, and she was one of five daughters. A sister, Maria K. Almy, married Captain William B. Seabury and is still living in Berkeley, California, in her 89th year. Another sister, Elizabeth Almy, married Professor Leslie A. Lee, long a member of the faculty of Bowdoin College.

"Mr. Almy had ideas in advance of his times, believing in careers for women, and consequently some of the daughters attended Bridgewater Normal School, where Mrs. Knowlton was graduated. For a time she taught school in Westport. On May 22, 1873, she married Mr. Knowlton, son of a Universalist clergyman, and a rising young lawyer of this city.

"To them were born seven children. Mr. Knowlton was district attorney for the Southern District for 14 years, and attorney general of the state, 1894-1901. His most conspicuous case was the Lizzie Borden murder trial, in which he was chief prosecutor. Mr. Knowlton died in 1902.

"Mr. and Mrs. Knowlton lived for a number of years on Court Street, and later at the corner of Union and Cottage Streets, in the residence now occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Miner W. Wilcox. They also had a Summer home at Marion, where Mrs. Knowlton had been accustomed to pass her Summers up to a few years ago until the condition of her health prevented it. For many years she had lived in or near Boston.

"Always public-minded, Mrs. Knowlton served faithfully and efficiently as a member of the School Committee for two terms, 1894-1899. She was one of the organizers and charter members of the New Bedford Woman's Club, and was its second president, 1900-1902. Possessed of an excellent contralto voice, she took a keen interest in musical matters, and was long an officer of the New Bedford Choral Association during the period when that organization sponsored a series of annual music festivals here.

"In the affairs of the Universalist Church, where Mr. Knowlton was superintendent of the Sunday School, she was very active, heading the Woman's Society, and devoting much time and energy to promote the work of the church.

"Mrs. Knowlton possessed great executive ability and was a capable organizer, exerting a wide influence during her residence here. A woman of fine culture, she was keenly interested in the best in literature and art as well as in music, and gave deep thought to the welfare of the young in educational and religious lines. Her cheerful temperament and helpful spirit made her a favorite with a large circle of friends.

"In addition to her sister, she is survived by five children, 18 grandchildren, two nieces and three nephews. The children are: Miss Abby A. Knowlton of Boston; Mrs. Maynard Hutchinson (Helen Knowlton), West Newton; Mrs. James H. Lewis (Sylvia Knowlton), Worcester; Dr. Edward A. Knowlton, a practicing physician of Holyoke; and Benjamin A. Knowlton, connected with the cotton textile industry in South Carolina. Deceased sons were John W. Knowlton of Washington, D.C., and Frank W. Knowlton, a prominent Boston lawyer, who died in 1932. A niece, Elizabeth B. Lee, married the Rev. Dr. Frederick M. Eliot of St. Paul, Minnesota, who has been nominated as president of the American Unitarian Association for the ensuing year.

"Burial will be in this city, following services at the Unitarian Chapel here on Sunday afternoon."

AFTERMATH

Sylvia Knowlton moved to Berkeley, California after the death of her husband. She had thought of living near her sister in Berkeley, California. However, after a year she returned to West Newton and settled there close to her many friends. As she got older, she moved in with her daughter, Helen Hutchinson. By the mid-1930's, she had moved from her daughter's home to live in Watertown. She had lived a third of a century beyond her husband, and always remained a rather formal person who showed her Puritan heritage. She was, however, tremendously proud of the accomplishments of her children and grandchildren. Along with her husband, she left them a heritage of public spirit and public interest.

THAT ELUSIVE HATCHET

(Continued from Page 3)

washing of a wooden handle or head would eliminate all traces of blood and none was found on the tests done by Fleet and Mullaly. Kent concluded that Draper and Cheever, by not mentioning the discovery of gilt in Abby's wounds, and saying the handleless hatchet could have caused the wounds when they probably believed it did not, was "a sin of omission rather than of commission, that of withholding evidence known to them."

The strongest case for casting doubt on the handleless hatchet as the murder weapon is the result of research done by Robert A. Flynn. Flynn makes four major points in his argument against the handleless hatchet. In experimenting with a hatchet similar to the one presented as the murder weapon at the trial, and using different types of blows (light, heavy, low level, high level), Flynn noted that one can not be totally sure of the actual size of the weapon used upon the Borden. In his experiments,

some of the cuts were wider than the blade used and some narrower.

Flynn also quotes two letters that Harvard Medical School Dr. Frank Draper wrote concerning the blade size of the murder weapon. In a letter written to William Dolan on August 12, 1892, Draper concluded that the murder weapon must have had a blade width of 2½ inches or less based on Abby's wounds. However, in a letter dated May 31, 1893 to the chief prosecutor at Lizzie's trial, District Attorney Hosea Morrill Knowlton, he stated that a blade of about 3½ inches was needed to inflict the wounds on the Borden.

A third point by Flynn concerns the presence of gilt in the wounds of Abby Borden. Gilt metal was used at that time to imprint the manufacturer's name on hatchet heads and would wear off with age and use. The gilt found in Abby's head suggests a fairly new hatchet. The handleless hatchet found in the Borden house was far from new and had no signs of gilt. At the trial, Draper testified that the handleless hatchet could have been the murder weapon and that it was capable of inflicting wounds similar to the Borden. However, he never said it actually was the weapon.

The fourth, and perhaps the most intriguing argument in Flynn's work, is the description of a new hatchet with traces of gilt still on it found on the roof of a barn on the Third Street property of John Crowe, located just to the rear of the Borden yard. This discovery was made ten months after the murders occurred. A newspaper article dated June 15, 1893 and reproduced by Flynn describes the hatchet's condition as weathered and rusted, but with signs of gilt. Flynn postulates a murderer who was not Lizzie could have climbed the Borden fence in the back yard and tossed the hatchet onto Crowe's roof while fleeing the crime scene. No one knows what happened to the Crowe hatchet and it is missing to this day.

Both Kent and Flynn make strong cases for a murder weapon other than the one presented at the trial. Sullivan, Lincoln and others make just as strong a case for Lizzie's guilt, and therefore for the handleless hatchet as the weapon. This author has not been able to answer other questions at all. Did, for instance, anyone inquire as to whether a new hatchet had been purchased in Fall River shortly before the murders? If the murderer was Lizzie, it would seem that a store clerk would have remembered and come forward. Could Lizzie, a known kleptomaniac, have shoplifted the hatchet without a store employee realizing a theft had occurred? Could someone other than Lizzie have bought one? If so, it probably was not John Vinnicum Morse or Bridget since they were too famous after the crimes and someone would have remembered. Could Lizzie or someone else have bought a new hatchet somewhere other than in Fall River? If so, the odds would be greater that a clerk would forget an unfamiliar face.

If answers to these questions exist, they have remained in the shadows of legend and history for over one hundred years. And there lies both the challenge and the fascination. For without the ability to imagine and reason, to use the clues provided by time and the efforts of writers both old and modern, the story of Lizzie Borden would have long ago been consigned to the storage bin of history as surely as all of the Borden family members have been consigned to Oak Grove Cemetery.



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July, 1997

Their 75th Anniversary, A Grand Occasion:

THE "FALL RIVER HISTORICAL SOCIETY" RESTORATION

By Maynard F. Bertolet

(Editor's note: This article features a concept very similar to the "Fall River Historical Society's" seventy-fifth anniversary restoration project itself. It was a joint effort with the lion's share of the credit owed to the "Fall River Historical Society Newsletter" Copy Editor Jeannette D. Denning, Archivist, Research Specialist and Assistant Curator Dennis A. Binette, Board of Directors member Constance C. Mendes and Curator Michael Martins.)

After a long, cold winter, the month of May always seems to usher in a new life cycle. This year was no exception and May in Fall River carried its own rewards. It was nice to be back in Fall River again. Whenever we view the city after a lengthy hiatus, the present always seems to be irrevocably entwined with the past, and the mystery therein. For those who have more than a passing fancy in the mystery, the research papers, documents, books and knowledgeable personnel at the Fall River Historical Society provide the foundation to any serious study.

On the evening of May 28, 1997 the Fall River Historical Society invited friends and supporters to view the results of their winter-long restoration project. After seventy-five years, the fruit of their most ambitious restoration project to date

was viewed and reviewed with superlatives liberally attached to glowing adjectives and adverbs.

THE PARLOR

Entering by the front door, the first room on the right was originally a music room which captured the cultural interests of the day. This room is separated by large pocket doors from a slightly smaller formal room known as the parlor, which also has a doorway to the central hall. The

twenty-six years of accumulated dirt and such, much of the color, including the ceiling medallion, needed no restoration whatsoever. However water damage had taken its toll in other areas. The woodwork retains its original 1870 finish. The floor is covered with an all-wool deep red background carpeting woven in Belgium with a multi-color oriental inspired pattern.

The magnificent mantel is graced by a one hundred twenty-five-year-old mirror.

Fifty-seven yards of material were required for the primary drapes alone that cover a floor-to-ceiling gothic bay window. In addition there are an accompanying two layers of glass curtains woven in Scotland. The furniture style is renaissance revival which includes a sofa, a lady's chair, a gentleman's chair and four side chairs. Original house pieces include a spinet piano and a Kimball and Cabus modern gothic black lacquer credenza. Words alone beg description of this period grandeur that graced the homes of the nineteenth century's final decade in Fall River and throughout America.

MARY BRAYTON DURFEE BROWN

Benefactress Mrs. Brown granted us an interview the following day. We were surprised to learn she had attended Bryn Mawr College, located a mere four miles



The Fall River Historical Society
Original pen and ink drawing by Marion Wilner
Reproduced courtesy of the Fall River Historical Society

parlor has been completely restored through the generosity of Mrs. Mary Brayton Durfee Brown in memory of her father, Randall Nelson Durfee, first President of the Fall River Historical Society. After removing one hundred and

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THE LIZZIE BORDEN QUARTERLY

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<i>by Mary T. Cusack</i>	

PRINCESS MAPLECROFT

IT WAS **J.** THE LOSTTWIN GIVEN AWAY AS AN INFANT. I HAD COME TO CLAIM MY BIRTHRIGHT. AFTER PLODDING THROUGH MILES OF FROZEN 3 FOOT DRIFTS OF HARD PACKED SNOW —

NON, I KNOW THERE IS A CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE TEMPERATURE THAT AUGUST MORNING —

LIZZIE! DON'T BREAK THE MOOD! WE HAVEN'T HAD GOOD MELODRAMA SINCE THE ACQUITTAL AND I JUST BUTTERED THE POPCORN!



McGy

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THE LIZZIE BORDEN QUARTERLY

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MISS LIZBETH BORDEN'S EDITOR SPEAKS

It would appear that we continue to live with serious mailing problems. For those who live beyond the Massachusetts area, lengthy delays seem to be the norm. Your editor recently met with the owners of *The Leary Press*, our printers in Fall River, in an attempt to speed up the delivery process. We shall make every effort to have the *Quarterly* delivered to the printers earlier and they in turn will deliver it to the Post Office sooner. In order to accomplish this, it is necessary to establish new publication deadlines, as described on Page 2.

We have some outstanding new material available for future issues, including a great article about early author Edmund Pearson. In addition, the *Fall River Historical Society* has recently acquired voluminous correspondence between Pearson and the son of Hosea Knowlton. We have been given permission to reprint this material and welcome the opportunity to make it available.

It has been written on many occasions that the only two sure bets are death and taxes. Today I would like to add a third item, and that is ... unfortunately ... rising costs. It has become necessary to increase the cost of our publication. Effective with this issue, the single issue in-print price is \$4.00. The USA subscription rates are \$14.00 for one year and \$24.00 for two. Non-USA rates are \$20.00 for one year and \$32.00 for two. Fortunately, we have been able to hold the line on our advertising rates. Our prices, advertising rates and publication deadlines are always included on page two of the *Lizzie Borden Quarterly*.

Please note Mr. Evan's very nice letter on this page. If any of you know who owns other *Fall River Tragedy* first editions, please send the information to me. To begin with, the *Lizbits* author and your editor each own one. Incidentally, Mr. Evans has written a book, co-authored by Paul Gaaney, about the infamous Jack-the-Ripper of London in 1888. It was recently published in the U.S.A. and suggests the true leading suspect was an American, a belief also held by Scotland Yard. The book is *Jack the Ripper - First American Serial Killer*, published by Kodansha International, 114 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011, \$24.00, IS 1-56836-160-2.

And, lest we forget, please check your mailing labels. If **Remaining Issues: 0** is printed on yours, please renew today. We save money, when possible, when you renew without mailing reminder notices. Don't let a mysterious missing hatchet separate you from the life and times surrounding Miss Lizbeth Borden of Maplecroft.

Maynard F. Bertolet

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

As a long-standing collector of criminological books, ephemera, and memorabilia, the Borden murders of 1892 have fascinated me for longer than I care to remember. Having just renewed my subscription to your excellent *Lizzie Borden Quarterly*, I felt that it was high time that I wrote you a letter for possible inclusion, if you agree, in this prestigious publication.

As a bibliophile it is a great thrill for me to seek, and hopefully find, rare books. It has been known for many years that Edwin H. Porter's *The Fall River Tragedy - A History of the Borden Murders*, Fall River, 1893, falls into this category, and acquisition of this particular volume ranks high on the 'hit-list' of most collectors of rare crime volumes. Many people are now able to enjoy reading this rare tome courtesy of Robert Flynn who has produced an excellent facsimile for the modern reader. However, as Bob Flynn and any true collector will tell you, there is nothing that matches owning a first-edition, with its own fragrance and patina of age. I was prompted to write on reading the recent entertaining essay in LBQ by William Schley-Ulrich which contains a reference to the Porter book and its rarity. He also repeats the probably apocryphal tale of Lizzie buying up and destroying copies of the book. His reference to extant copies led me to ponder the possibility of listing the whereabouts of all known copies of the book.

I do know that my friend Richard Whittington-Egan of Malvern, England, has a copy, and the one owned by William Roughead (courtesy of Edmund Pearson) is, I believe, with the Roughead collection in Edinburgh Library. The third first-edition on this side of 'the pond', that I know of, is my own copy. The way I came by this valuable book is mentioned by Patterson Smith in his piece in *The Legend 100 years after the crime - A Conference On the Lizzie Borden Case Proceedings*, published after the 1992 conference at Bristol Community College. See page 291 for Pat's account. I was lucky enough to buy the book for a mere £30, and it is in fine condition. The condition is all-important as the book usually does not wear very well. On acquiring the book I began to note the remarks of various authors over the years, the most absurd being that there are only three copies in existence.

With all your resources and contacts I wondered if an effort could be made to list the existing copies and to finally come up with a more accurate assessment of just how many have survived. Patterson Smith (ibid. p. 276) refers to the book thus - "...which has become almost as much a legend as the crime itself." The penciled annotation "suppressed" appears at the front of my volume, although who was responsible for this I know not. Patterson Smith has indicated that there are more copies in circulation than have previously been supposed, and modern guesses seem to come up with the figure of 25 or thereabouts.

I do hope that this is of interest to you, keep up the good work.

With all good wishes,

Stewart P. Evans
England

by Lisa Zawadzki

Hello again, loyal readers. It is I, the Bibliographic Borden, fresh from searching the globe for treasures for my adoring public. Read on for this month's collection of true-crime goodies.

Kurland, Michael:

A Gallery of Rogues: Portraits in True Crime

New York: Prentice Hall General Reference, 1994: 42-49

Hooray for the crime anthology! This short piece was one of the best from this genre. Rather than just the usual paragraph or two, *Gallery's* multi-page essay went into some detail. The author provided a well-balanced narrative account of the murder and trial.

What impressed me about this item was its notable lack of bias, a trait other authors on this subject would do well to emulate. One sentence in particular endeared me to Kurland: "As nearly as can be reconstructed, the events of the tragedy unfolded like this." Bravo, sir! Finally, an author who admitted to the case's many gray areas.

The major details of the affair were described, as were many of the minor ones. The author weighed the prosecution's case against the defense's, and showed the strengths and weaknesses of each. Both Pearson and Porter were quoted, the latter at some length.

This essay was excellent and was one of the best short overviews of the Borden murders that I have read. It would be a good one to recommend to your non-Borden reading friends who want to get an idea about the case.

The Alyson Almanac

Boston: Alyson Publications, 1989: 100

Lizzie was mentioned in this almanac of famous people who were confirmed or suspected homosexuals. Starting the two-paragraph entry off with labeling her a "U.S. celebrity", the entry went into no details of the crime except to mention her controversial acquittal.

The almanac further stated that not only has Lizzie's innocence been in question since day one, so has her sexuality. Most of the discussion that I have seen on this subject has appeared within the last decade or so. In any case, I don't recall any writings of that time mentioning this possibility. I'm sure it was probably gossiped about, but the author leads you to believe it was documented.

They closed by mentioning one theory that stated Abby caught Lizzie in bed with Bridget, so Lizzie killed her. Andrew guessed the truth and was also murdered. This sounded to me (although not exactly) like the plot of *Lizzie* by Evan Hunter. If that was the work they were referring to, they did not mention that it was fictional.

Sabljak, Mark and Martin H. Greenberg:

A Bloody Legacy: Chronicles of American Murder

Avenel, N.J.: Gramercy Books, 1992: 14-16

This quick two-and-a-half page article did not go into much detail. The authors were pretty fair though, despite skipping over many of the facts. They did not try to blame the crime on Lizzie. In fact, the "mysterious stranger" and Bridget were mentioned as alternate suspects.

There was nothing really new or exciting from this item. It was choppy at best, but was better than many others of its kind. The famous four-stanza rhyme was correctly repeated. However, it was said to have originated in the newspapers of the time, which I don't think is correct.

King, Florence:

A Wasp Looks at Lizzie Borden

National Review (August 17, 1992): 24-28.

King saw Lizzie and the Borden case as the ultimate Wasp experience. An amusing and convincing argument was set forth to support this assertion. I think most readers will enjoy this, a social analysis that was not as dry as is usual. The ideas, while presented humorously, were well-researched.

Many Wasp characteristics and actions that move the players in the Borden drama were cited. *Not Speaking*, *Silent Gesture* and *Having Words* were all merrily explained. Yankee/Wasp behavior abounded throughout the events, up to the eventual snub by a

majority of the people of her "class". King also included one of my favorite quotes, in which one of Lizzie's friends stated that she would be more amazed that Lizzie would lie about a murder than commit the murder itself.

This article appeared during the 100-year anniversary of the crimes. If I remember correctly, the magazine had a fantastic cover from the movie *Straight Jacket* with Joan Crawford swinging an axe. I really wish I had bought that. Stupid me only copied the article.

Rhines, Fred:

Eerie Events in an Old House on Durfee Street

Fall River Herald News (July 27, 1981)

Subtitled *The Ghost of Lizzie B.*?, this newspaper piece discussed some strange events at the Fall River Animal Hospital. As we know, Lizzie was a benefactor of this establishment. Although the writer and the live-in supervisor of the hospital were not sure it was Lizzie's ghost, they were entertaining that possibility.

Someone (or something) had been rocking in the rocking chair, folded clothing, and tied and untied shoelaces. The ghost also moved pillows and used an afghan.

(Continued on Page 18)



by Neilson Caplain

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIZZIE BORDEN MURDER CASE

Part Two of Two

(Editor's note: It is indeed a pleasure to publish the second and final installment of Mr. Caplain's chronological list of dates, times and events associated with the Andrew Jackson Borden family and the Borden axe-murders. Even though it is completed in this issue, Mr. Caplain joins with me in requesting the readership to continue providing any sourced additions or corrections. All such items should be sent to the editor for evaluation and research. Please include at least one source reference with each proposed entry. We plan to generate ongoing updates to this document and make subsequent editions available exclusively to LBQ subscribers. The authors of all accepted entries will be given credit in succeeding publications and receive a complete electronically printed updated version. Please see the end of the Chronology for current contributors.)

THE DAY OF THE MURDERS - August 4, 1892 (continued)

- | | | | |
|-----------------|---|--------------|--|
| c.11:00 A.M. | • Andrew was murdered. | 11:15 A.M. | • Mrs. Churchill left, crossed the street to Hall's Stable, saw Thomas Bowles, a young man who worked for her, and asked him to get a Doctor. |
| 11:00-11:15A.M. | • Bridget heard the City Hall clock strike 11:00 A.M. | 11:20 A.M. | • John Cunningham, a news dealer lounging in front of the stable, was told about the events. He went to a nearby paint shop and called the City Marshal. |
| | • Ice cream peddler Hyman Lubinsky saw a woman, supposedly Lizzie, coming from the barn. | 11:25 A.M. | • The telephone call was received at the Fall River police station. |
| | • Brownie and his friend (Everett Brown and Thomas E. Barlow) started downtown, then entered the Borden's barn. | 11:30 A.M. | • Dr. Bowen arrived at Borden house. |
| | • Lizzie discovered Andrew's body and called for Bridget to come downstairs. | 11:32 A.M. | • Morse started back from Weybosset Street. |
| | • Bridget came downstairs from the third floor and was asked by Lizzie to fetch Dr. Bowen. | 11:35 A.M. | • Officer George A. Allen arrived, installed a guard at the door and returned to the police station. |
| | • Bridget went across the street to the Bowen residence, raised Mrs. Bowen, and was told he was not at home. | 11:37 A.M. | • Alice Russell arrived at the Borden house. |
| | • Mrs. Adelaide Churchill, on her way home from Mr. M.T. Hudner's Market on South Main Street, saw Bridget returning home from the Bowen's. | 11:40 A.M. | • Bridget was sent to the Borden bedroom for a sheet to cover Andrew's body. |
| | • Bridget, at Lizzie's request, went to fetch her friend Miss Alice Russell. | 11:45 A.M. | • Abby's body was discovered. |
| | • From her kitchen window, Mrs. Churchill saw Lizzie at the Borden's back door and was asked by Lizzie to come over. | c.11:45 A.M. | • Dr. Bowen sent his telegram to Emma. The time was recorded at the Western Union office. |
| | • Mrs. Churchill went to her front entry, told her mother she was leaving, walked next door to the Borden house and entered by the back screen door. | 11:45 A.M. | • People were in the barn loft prior to Officer William H. Medley's inspection. |
| | • Mrs. Churchill questioned Lizzie about her father and mother's whereabouts, asked Lizzie where she was when Mr. Borden was murdered and offered to locate another Doctor. | 11:50 A.M. | • Officers Michael Mullaly, Francis H. Wixon and John J. Devine arrived at the Borden house. |
| | | 12:00 Noon | • Officers William H. Medley and Charles H. Wilson arrived. Officers Patrick H. Doherty and Michael Mullaly searched the house. Medley located hatchets in the basement. |
| | | 12:20 P.M. | • Dr. Bowen returned from Western Union. |
| | | 12:25 P.M. | • John Vinnicum Morse returned, ate some pears and learned about the tragedy. |
| | | 12:40 P.M. | • Assistant City Marshall John Fleet arrived. |
| | | 12:45 P.M. | • Dr. William Andrew Dolan arrived. |
| | | 1:00 P.M. | • Officer Medley went to the barn. He alleged the dust in the loft was undisturbed. |
| | | 1:25 P.M. | • Lizzie went to her room and changed her dress. |
| | | | • Captain Philip Harrington arrived and interviewed Lizzie. |
| | | | • Lizzie was questioned by Captain Harrington and Marshall Fleet. |
| | | | • A search of the house began and continued all afternoon. |
| | | | • City Marshall Rufus Bartlett Hilliard drove to the Swansea farm. |
| | | | • Family friend, Mrs. Marianna Holmes, arrived at the Borden house. |
| | | | • Captain Harrington saw Dr. Bowen burning paper scraps in the kitchen stove. |

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from preceding page)

- c.1:30 P.M. • Dr. Bowen prescribed medication for Lizzie.
- 2:00-3:00 P.M. • City Marshall Hilliard arrived and organized the search.
- 3:00 P.M. • The first autopsy was performed by Dr. Dolan. Andrew had suffered ten blows and Abby nineteen.
- Afternoon • Robinsky met a man with an axe.
- c.5:00 P.M. • Emma returned from Fairhaven.



Something old has been added

Another pear tree at the Second Street Borden house
Photograph by Jeannine H. Bertolet

- c.5:30 P.M. • The bodies of Andrew and Abby were released to the undertaker.
- Evening • State Detective George F. Seaver arrived.
- 8:45 P.M. • Lizzie and Miss Russell went to the cellar. (Sullivan puts this time as after 12:00 midnight.)
- 9:00 P.M. • Lizzie went to the cellar alone.
- Night • Bridget left the Borden house to stay overnight at Dr. Bowen's.

LIZZIE'S ORDEAL, AUGUST - DECEMBER, 1892

Friday, August 5

- The autopsy material was received by Dr.

Edward Stickney Wood.

- The Borden sisters advertised a reward.
- The victims' clothing was buried and then retrieved by Marshall Hilliard.
- Lizzie's Uncle Hiram Harrington was interviewed by the *Fall River Globe*.
- The Globe estimated Andrew's assets to be approximately \$400,000.

Saturday, August 6

- 10:00 A.M. • A private funeral service was held at 92 Second Street.
- 11:00 A.M. • Andrew and Abby's bodies were interred in vaults at Oak Grove Cemetery.
- 1:00-5:00 P.M. • A thorough search was conducted by Marshalls Hilliard and Fleet.
- 5:00 P.M. • Mayor John William Coughlin, Marshall Hilliard, Hosea Knowlton and Dr. Dolan met at the Mellen House.
- 7:45 P.M. • Mayor Coughlin told Lizzie that she was suspected.
- Night • Pinkerton Detective O.M. Hanscom arrived.

Sunday, August 7

- 9:00 A.M. • Lizzie burned a dress with Emma and Miss Russell in attendance.
- Morning • The Borden house is searched again.

Monday, August 8

- Another search of the premises was conducted by Attorney Andrew Jackson Jennings, Detective Hanscom and the police.
- Lizzie said to Miss Russell, "Why did you let me burn the dress?"
- 12:00 Noon • A warrant was issued for Lizzie's arrest, but not served.

Tuesday, August 9

- The Inquest began at the Fall River Police Station with Judge Josiah Coleman Blaisdell presiding.
- Attorney General Albert Enoch Pillsbury arrived in Fall River for a conference with Knowlton and Hilliard.

Wednesday, August 10

- The axes and clothing from the Borden house were received in Boston.

Thursday, August 11

- The Inquest ended. Lizzie was arrested and charged with the murder of Andrew.
- The autopsy was conducted at Oak Grove Cemetery where the skulls were detached by Dr. Frank Winthrop Draper.

Friday, August 12

- The Arraignment before Judge Blaisdell

was conducted. Lizzie pled not guilty and was jailed at Taunton.

c.Friday, August 12

- Bridget was employed as a domestic by the New Bedford jail keeper.

Tuesday, August 16

- Joseph Lemay claimed to have seen a blood-stained man with a hatchet.

Monday, August 22

- Lizzie was brought to Fall River for the Preliminary Hearing. She remained in jail while the Hearing was delayed.

Wednesday, August 24

8:40 A.M.

- Emma allegedly argued with Lizzie.

Thursday, August 25

- The Preliminary Hearing began with Judge Blaisdell presiding.

Saturday, August 27

- Emma received a letter from one Robinsky about his meeting a blood-stained man.

Tuesday, August 30

- Dr. Edward Wood received the handleless hatchet.

Thursday, September 1

- The Preliminary Hearing ended. Lizzie was held for the Grand Jury and was returned to Taunton.

Friday, September 2

- The legal document was filed allowing Emma Borden as Administratrix to control the entire Borden estate.

Saturday, September 10

- A newspaper offered a reward of \$500.00 to find the writer of the note said to have been delivered to Abby.

Tuesday, September 20

- Lizzie's interview by Mrs. McGuire was published.

Monday, October 10

- The *Boston Globe* printed a spurious story written by Henry G. Trickey who obtained his information from Edwin D. McHenry, a Providence detective.

Tuesday, October 12

- The *Boston Globe* retracted the story and printed an apology to Miss Borden.

Wednesday, November 7

- The Grand Jury met in Taunton.

Friday, November 18

- The Grand Jury considered the Borden case.

Monday, November 21

- The Grand Jury adjourned having taken no action.

Thursday, November 24

- The Investigation by the prosecuting lawyers concluded finding no evidence of Lizzie's insanity.

Thursday, December 1

- The Grand Jury reconvened and Alice Russell testified about the dress-burning.

Friday, December 2

- Lizzie was indicted and taken back to jail.

Sunday, December 4

- Trickey died in a train accident after an indictment by the Grand Jury.

THE TRIAL AND AFTERMATH - 1893 TO DATE

1893

February 6

- A.J. Borden estate was equally divided between Emma and Lizzie by the Probate Court.

March 24

- The Bar Association considered charges against Judge Blaisdell.

April

- Attorney General Albert Pillsbury withdrew from the case due to ill health.

April 10

- Judge Blaisdell resigned as Judge of the Second District Court.

May 8

- Lizzie pled not guilty at the arraignment.

May 17

- Lizzie was interviewed by Mary Livermore.

May 18

- The Jurors were chosen in Taunton for the Borden case.

May 31

- The Manchester axe-murder was committed in Fall River.

June 3

- Lizzie was transferred to the New Bedford jail.

June 5

- A suspect was charged and arrested in the Manchester case.

June 6

- The Borden axe-murder trial began in New Bedford.

August 12

- The Jurors visited the murder scene.

August 14

- The *New Bedford Standard* printed Lizzie's Inquest testimony.

- A hatchet with traces of gilt was found by a young boy and reported in the newspaper.

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from previous page)

August 20	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lizzie Borden was declared not guilty.• Lizzie took the train to Fall River and arrived at 8:15 P.M.• Reporter Joseph Howard published his criticism of Judge Dewey's Jury charge.• Judge Dewey was interviewed by the <i>Boston Globe</i>.	February 18	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Author and Newspaper Reporter Edwin H. Porter died.
August 23	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Fall River police announced the case was closed.	June 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lizzie entertained Actress Nance O'Neil at Maplecroft.• It was reported that Emma left Maplecroft a few days later.• Chief Justice Mason died.
After the trial:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Porter's <i>Fall River Tragedy</i> was published.• Judge Davis criticized Dewey's Jury charge.• Professor Wigmore criticized court rulings.• Lizzie sent her step-mother's wedding picture to Mrs. Whitehead.• Lizzie and Emma bought and moved to <i>Maplecroft</i>, their new home.	March 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• William H. Moody was appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States by President Theodore Roosevelt.
January 24	<p style="text-align: center;">1894</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• A legal document allowing one-half of the Borden estate to be distributed to Lizzie A. Borden was executed by Administratrix Emma L. Borden, witnessed by Andrew Jennings and filed in the Taunton Court-house.• A legal document accepting the provisions of the previous document in lieu of an itemized account was signed by Lizzie A. Borden, witnessed by Andrew Jennings and filed in the Taunton Courthouse.	April 13	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• John Vinnicum Morse died.• The <i>Globe</i> discontinued its anniversary articles about the Borden axe-murders.
November 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Abby's estate of approximately \$1500 was distributed to family members. <p style="text-align: center;">1895</p>	May	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Sunday Post published an interview of Emma Borden.
July 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Southard Miller died.• The Carpenter letter dated June 22, 1893 was found. <p style="text-align: center;">1896</p>	Note: No attempt was made to record all of the numerous publications about Lizzie Borden. However, some of the full-length books and their authors are included below.	<p style="text-align: center;">1912</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1913</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1915</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Bridget married John M. Sullivan. <p style="text-align: center;">1923</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Emma Borden sought court authority to divide the value of the Borden Building between the two sisters.• Andrew Jennings died.
December 10	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• A newspaper reported Lizzie's engagement to a Swansea school teacher.• Governor Robinson died. <p style="text-align: center;">1897</p>	January 30	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Emma Borden sought court authority to divide the value of the Borden Building between the two sisters.• Andrew Jennings died. <p style="text-align: center;">1924</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Studies in Murder</i> by Edmund Pearson was published. <p style="text-align: center;">1926</p>
February 16	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lizzie's September, 1896 shoplifting of two porcelain paintings from the Tilden-Thurber Company was printed on the first page of the <i>Providence Daily Journal</i>. <p style="text-align: center;">1900</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Justice Dewey died. <p style="text-align: center;">1901</p>	June 1 June 10	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lizzie signed her will.• Lizzie entered the hospital for a gall bladder operation.• <i>Murder at Smutty Nose</i> by Edmund Pearson was published. <p style="text-align: center;">1927</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lizzie died in Fall River at age 67.• Emma died in Newmarket, N.H. at age 78. <p style="text-align: center;">1928</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Five Murders</i> by Edmund Pearson was published. <p style="text-align: center;">1933</p>
April 17	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Justice Blodgett died.• Hosea Knowlton died. <p style="text-align: center;">1904</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lizzie met Nance O'Neil.		<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The play, <i>Nine Pine Street</i>, opened with Lillian Gish.

1936

- *More Studies in Murder* by Edmund Pearson was published.

1937

August 8

- *The Trial of Lizzie Borden* by Edmund Pearson was published.
- Edmund Pearson died.

1941

January 21

- Alice Russell died.
- Arthur Sherman Phillips died.

1942

March 20

- Grace Hartley Howe was interviewed by a Boston paper.
- Bridget Sullivan signed her will.

1948

March 6

- *Fall River Legend*, a ballet by Agnes deMille, was first performed.
- Bridget died in Butte, Montana at age 82. She is reported to have said that Lizzie gave her money to go to Ireland.

1952

- Snow's radio broadcast stated that a boy found undisturbed dust in the barn loft.

1959

- An alleged Lizzie Borden confession was reported in Snow's book *Piracy, Mutiny & Murder*.

1960

- The signature on the alleged confession, as reported by Snow, was found to be a forgery.

1961

August 3 -5

- *Lizzie Borden, The Untold Story* by Edward Radin was published.

1965

January

- Nance O'Neil died.
- The New York City Opera Company performed Jack Beeson's Opera *Lizzie Borden - A Family Portrait in Three Acts*.

1966

- Edward Radin died.

1967

- *A Private Disgrace* by Victoria Lincoln was published.

1968

- *A Dance of Death* by Agnes deMille was published.

1972

- Robert Sullivan visited Fall River and saw Mrs. Potter, Abby Borden's niece, who related the story about Lizzie killing a cat.

1974

- *Goodbye Lizzie Borden* by Robert Sullivan was published.

1976

- Author Robert Sullivan died.

1980

- *Lizzie Borden: A Case Book of Family and Crime in the 1890's* by Williams, Smithburn and Peterson was published.

1981

- Authoress Victoria Lincoln died.

1984

- *Lizzie* by Frank Spiering was published.

1985

- *The Fall River Tragedy* by Edwin H. Porter (Facsimile Edition) was published.

1991

- *Lizzie Borden, the Legend, the Truth, the Final Chapter* by Arnold Brown was published.

1992

- *40 Whacks* by David Kent was published.
- *The Lizzie Borden Sourcebook* by David Kent in collaboration with Robert A. Flynn was published.
- *The Borden Murders, An Annotated Bibliography* by Robert A. Flynn was published.
- *The Legend 100 Years After the Crime*, a conference on the Lizzie Borden case, was held at Bristol Community College in Fall River, Massachusetts. Chaired by Jules Ryckebusch.

1993

- The first issue of *The Lizzie Borden Quarterly* was published.

1994

- *The Commonwealth of Massachusetts vs. Lizzie A. Borden* (The Knowlton Papers) edited by Michael Martins and Dennis A. Binette was published by the *Fall River Historical Society*.

(The Editor would like to express his appreciation to Mr. Benny Bounds and Mr. William L. Masterton who contributed to this document.)

AN ARMCHAIR SOLUTION TO THE BORDEN MYSTERY

• SOME CLARIFICATIONS AND MODIFICATIONS - CONCLUSION •

By Fritz Adilz

(Editor's note: We pick up in this issue where we left off and conclude Fritz's clarifications and modifications to his original treatise. Even though we have reached another stopping point for Mr. Adilz, I can't help but believe our pages will again be graced with his words. For a man as literate, determined, and intense as he is about the subject, possibly additional logic, thoughts and concepts of his are already surfacing to the foreground. Of course, we must first pass on our usual caveat. The "Lizzie Borden Quarterly" does not support or attack any plausible theory. While we may, or may not, agree with any theory, it will be passed on to the readership for their final judgment, as long as it is well-written and documented.)

THE IDENTITY OF THE KILLER (continued)

The killer who has taken off his shoes, goes through Lizzie's room out on the landing, where he stations himself near the guest room door. If Mrs. Borden chooses to come out to see who is calling she will be felled before she can cross the threshold. Her approaching steps will give her away. But she remains in the guest room adjusting some pillows or whatever. Lizzie climbs the stairs again. She has heard the brushing and splashing announcing that "Maggie" is washing the sitting room windows on the outside or she has, through the sitting room windows, seen "Maggie" at the fence talking to the Kelly girl. Lizzie opens the guest room door and enters followed by the killer. She says, "Mother, it is Mr. Davis who has come to see Uncle John." And William Davis who holds the hatchet inoffensively in his left hand near the hatchet head says, "Excuse my appearance, Mrs. Borden, but there was this horse at Kirby's that fell and broke two of his legs and couldn't be moved, so I had to help dispatch the poor animal. When will John be back?" She says, "We expect him back here at noon." He says, "Well, I can't wait that long," and, while holding out the hatchet to her, "John forgot his hatchet at Kirby's yesterday and I thought I'd give it back to him. Can I leave it here with you?"

(After his return from Swansea the night before, when chatting with Mr. and Mrs. Borden, John Morse may have paved the way saying, "Darn, I bought myself a hatchet today but I think I left it in the buggy. Well, no sweat, I'll pick it up tomorrow.")

He advances towards her calm and smiling with his left hand outstretched, while Lizzie remains near the door. Mrs. Borden,

dumbfounded, makes a gesture as to take the instrument. Suddenly his right hand comes up, grips the handle and strikes at the poor woman. It is a glancing hit. Mrs. Borden, stunned, reels backwards and turns herself to her left and starts to fall. The motion of her falling body makes the next blow miss the head. Instead the hatchet hits a spot between her shoulder blades, where it buries itself down almost to the helve. Whatever urge any lingering sparks of consciousness may have had of letting out a last desperate scream, the opportunity is now gone. The vicious blow has knocked the wind right out of her lungs. She falls to the floor. The killer, implacable, puts himself astride his victim and continues to strike and strike and strike

The fact that the killer could make a successful surprise attack on Mrs. Borden strengthens the case against William Davis considerably. He was certainly known to Mrs. Borden. Through John Morse she had probably already met him and she certainly knew of his profession and his connection with Mr. Morse. Thus he could approach her the way he did without causing her alarm. But who else could?

One question remains. What will be the reaction of a housewife seeing a butcher in full uniform step into her furnished guest room? Will she not be alarmed lest he touch anything? The conspirators must have foreseen this. The protective clothing may have been new and clean, having just one smear on the front to account for the killing of the horse.

On August 5 *The Evening Standard*²⁴ sent a reporter to the home of William Davis in South Dartmouth, with whom John Morse had been staying for several months. The reporter saw Mr. Davis's father *Isaac* and a daughter.

There are many interesting things revealed in this interview. It appears that Mr. Morse was a business adviser, not only to Mr. Borden but also to the Davis family. The reporter was told that Mr. Davis had for several weeks talked of buying a pair of cattle from Mr. Borden and on Thursday (should be Wednesday) Morse started on foot to take the electric car for the city intending to take the train to Fall River. John Morse was supposed

to bring the cattle back with him. To him who was a horseman going to Fall River by electric car and train has been considered to be out of character. But he surely had his reasons for not bringing a horse team with him this time. According to Isaac Davis a close relationship had existed between John Morse and



Uncle John Vinnicum Morse newspaper sketch c.1880
Photograph reproduced courtesy of the Fall River Historical Society

Mr. Davis's son William for some time.

After some conversation about Mr. Morse's career the reporter was asked as to the cause of this inquiry. Has he been hurt? Has he met with an accident? were questions asked.

These questions raise question marks (pun not intended). Mr. Davis and his family had read about the murders in The Evening Standard of the previous day, third edition, and knew that the two people their friend was visiting had been "horribly butchered." The paper had not spoken of any other person being killed or injured in connection with the murders. If they had no thought of their friend being a suspect - which is remarkable per se; why should not the police and the public at this very first stage suspect any relative, arriving on the day before the murders and staying overnight? - the natural thing for them to account for the reporter's presence and questions would have been to assume a general curiosity directed towards everybody who had had a connection with the victims in this great tragedy at the time of the murders. No, these questions look like play-acting. It would be interesting to know which of them asked them, the father or the daughter(s).

After having been told that Mr. Morse was suspected, Mr. Davis embarks on a warm defense of his friend. He concludes, "No Sir, John V. Morse never committed that crime. It's an awful mistake. Why, I would have trusted him with everything in the world, and would as soon think *of my own son doing the deed.*" (my italics).

This statement is puzzling presuming Isaac Davis knew his son was the perpetrator. It may perhaps be seen as the ultimate expression of solidarity.

*The Evening Standard*²⁵ reports that Mr. Morse received a visit from "two acquaintances from South Dartmouth, Messrs. Davis and Howe" on Sunday the 7th of August. On the surface it certainly looks like a social visit. Two friends coming to cheer him up. But if Mr. Davis was the perpetrator, which is very likely, this meeting takes on a different meaning. In this case they would have sought out a corner out of earshot of everyone and there they would have reassured one another that everything was going well and they would also have rehearsed some strategy. And if this was the purpose of their visit, *Mr. Howe* must have been a getaway-driver.

BURNING OF THE DRESS

In the forenoon of Sunday, August 7 Lizzie burned a dress in the kitchen stove. The knowledge of this stems from her friend *Miss Alice Russell* who on her own initiative testified to this before the Grand Jury in December 1892.²⁶ Does this act of Lizzie's have anything to do with the case? There are two possibilities.

1. The dress Lizzie wore at the time of the murders was not the dress that she burned - the burning is of no interest to the case.
2. The dress Lizzie wore at the time of the murders was the same dress that she burned - the burning may be of interest to the case.

At the trial both Alice Russell and Emma testified that the dress Lizzie burned was the so-called Bedford cord made of cheap cotton, light blue in color with a small dark blue figure on

it. Lizzie had had this dress sewn up that very spring. Her alleged reason for burning it was that it was covered with paint and badly faded.

Now let us assume that the Bedford cord was the dress Lizzie had on at the time of the murders. Then why did she burn it? The reason she gives that the dress was stained and faded is not credible as the timing itself means a little too singular a coincidence but above all because Miss Russell explicitly warned her against burning it. "I would not let anyone see me do that, Lizzie."

According to Emma's testimony²⁷ the dress had hung in the clothes press as one of ten blue dresses on Saturday and had thus sustained Saturday's search and probably also the previous searches. Maybe it is no wonder that the dress was not discovered during the searches. At the time the police did not know that the dress they were looking for had drab paint stains on it. They were just looking for blood stains and they found no blood-stained dress. And the description of the dress from the people who saw Lizzie before she changed her dress were either non-existent or very vague to say the least, the exception being Mrs. Churchill.

Well, that's all fine, but if there was no blood on the dress why did Lizzie have to burn it? One has to understand her situation. She may have been in the guest room when her stepmother was killed. She had been in contact with the killer for a period of more than an hour after the first murder and may have had to pick up a document near her dead father. Under these circumstances she could not be sure that some very tiny, but under a microscope, visible blood drops and/or blood specks had not accidentally gotten on to her dress. Thoughts like these must have haunted her, maybe just a little at first but gradually more and more until she felt she had to do something about it, i.e. take the risk of burning the dress.

THE MOTIVE

One of the most difficult things with this mystery is the motive. Not that there is any shortage of potential motives but which motive was the true one? Maybe different participants had different motives and perhaps some of them had mixed ones. The following potential motives can be seen.

1. Emma and/or Lizzie felt that they had waited long enough for wealth and independence. They wanted it and they wanted it now.
- Emma's lifestyle both before and after the murders contradicts this motive for herself. For Lizzie this motive may have been sufficient but hardly for Uncle John and William Davis.
2. The girls believed their father was going to, more or less, disinherit them in favor of their stepmother.

There were rumors that Mr. Borden was planning to make a will leaving the daughters with \$25,000 each and let Mrs. Borden have the rest. According to an article in *The Evening Standard*²⁸ the girls had heard this from their uncle. Officer Medley reported from an interview with Mr. Charles Cook that Mr. Borden had told Mr. Cook that it was time for him (Borden) to make a will. This had happened not long before the murders. At the pretrial,²⁹ though, Mr. Cook flatly denied having heard of any such thing.

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Emma had probably no longing for wealth but she was very likely anxious to have security. To be left with only a comparatively small sum with which to provide for herself for the rest of her days, may well have seemed frightening to her and may have induced her to accept the murders as being the only solution. Even Uncle John who certainly held his nieces very dear could have felt enough outrage over the girls' predicament to go along and so might William Davis, it just depends on how much he looked up to his older friend John Morse as his superior. The article in *The Evening Standard*³⁰ gives hints at discussions at South Dartmouth between Emma, Uncle John, Mr. Davis and occasionally Lizzie over the subject of a will of Mr. Borden.



Miss Abby Durfee Gray

Age 34, approximately three years before the Borden marriage
Photograph reproduced courtesy of *The Fall River Historical Society*

3. The girls' father had forced them to succumb to incestuous acts.

In addition to what has already been said on this subject³¹ the following may be of interest. When Lizzie was a school girl she gave her father a gold ring, which he wore on the little finger of his left hand³² until his death. A picture of *Lizzie* standing behind a chair shows that the only ring she had was a narrow ring which she wore on her ring-finger like a wedding ring. The ring seems to be a little tight for her finger which may indicate that it was put on a long time before the picture was taken. A ring is a token of love and affection, not between father and daughter but between lovers. Maybe at an intimate moment long ago Lizzie and her father had exchanged rings, the father taking his daughter to be "his little wife."

That Mr. Borden may have subjected his daughters to incestuous acts is one thing. Whether this would have been the

precipitating motive for the murders is quite another. What speaks against incest as a primary motive is that the incest must have covered a long period of years - 25 or more - and that the father's sexual demands on his daughters would have grown less frequent over the years.

The bottom line is this: As an auxiliary motive, incest is very likely. An ill treatment like that, going on for so many years, will necessarily lower the level of affection and loyalty of the victims towards their oppressor to such an extent as to make way for the possibility of murder. And then, if the victims learn that their oppressor will commit another abusive act, i.e. if the girls learn that their father will disinherit them in favor of a hated stepmother, then all will be set for a violent explosion.

4. The motive was a personal grudge against one or both of the victims.

Mr. Jennings sent the Pinkerton detective O. M. Hanscom to Iowa to check up on John Morse. In connection with this visit, an Iowa newspaper published *John V. Morse as Known by His Far Western Neighbors*.³³ According to the paper, Mr. Morse's half sister Mrs. Davidson claimed that John Morse was a man who would never forgive when crossed.

According to Victoria Lincoln³⁴, Mr. Borden and Mr. Morse made a deal that the latter would buy one of the Borden farms in Swansea, however, shortly before the murders Mr. Borden gave it to his wife. If this is true, it may well have enraged his brother-in-law maybe to the point where he would contemplate murder. It is interesting to compare this information with Mr. Morse's testimony at the inquest.³⁵ "That is all he (Mr. Borden) said about a will, he thought of making some bequests out, you know, for charitable purposes. His farm over there, he was talking about The Old Ladies Home, 'I don't know but I would give them this, if they would take it.'" It is possible though, that Mr. Borden never had this intention and that Mr. Morse just made it up to divert the attention from the fact that his brother-in-law had gone back on his word and had given the farm to his wife instead of selling it to him.

If the family Davis had a reason to have a grudge against Mr. Borden is impossible to say, but bearing in mind that Mr. Borden's business methods seem to have been very ruthless and sometimes bordering on being dishonest, it is not impossible.

5. The participant was paid to participate.

As there was a close relationship between the family Davis and John Morse it seems less likely that William Davis was paid to go along and commit the murders. There are probably other reasons that we cannot know of.

THIS AND THAT

1. On August 11 State Detective Seaver and Marshal Hilliard went to Mr. Borden's Swansea farm and did an interview with the man in charge, Mr. F. Eddy.³⁶ In this interview Mr. Eddy is quoted to have said the following, "I said to him (Morse) after he got his eggs, 'how about the oxen Mr. Davis of South Dartmouth was to have to use?'" This question of Mr. Eddy's shows that he already knew Mr. Davis wanted to buy a pair of oxen from the farm when Mr. Morse got there in August. One explanation would be that Mr. Morse had previously written him about it. But it seems more likely

that Mr. Morse phoned the farm from Luther's Corner where he first went.³⁷ Luther's Corner was a tavern lying at some distance from the farm. This tavern would have had a public telephone.

The following might have happened. At around 4:30 P.M., John Morse arrives at Luther's Corner in his hired horse team. He had been on the road for an hour or more. It is hot and he is thirsty. He stops and enters the tavern.

After drinking a beer he asks leave to use the telephone. Some nearby customer may have overheard the following conversation.

May I speak to Mr. Eddy, please?

John Morse. Is this Mrs. Eddy?

John Morse. I am related to Mr. Borden, you know. As a matter of fact I am staying at his house in Fall River right now. Well, perhaps not right now, because now I am phoning from Luther's, but I left him about an hour ago.

When will he be back, do you know?

Not at all, that'll be fine. I have another call to make in the meantime.

Well, yes, please tell him that I come on behalf of Mr. Davis of South Dartmouth. He wants to buy a pair of oxen from the farm.

Of course, Mrs. Eddy, it's quite OK with Mr. Borden, the price and everything. But I must talk with your husband how we best are gonna get those animals over to Mr. Davis in South Dartmouth.

OK, that's just fine. I'll drop by shortly after seven, then.

Good-bye, Mrs. Eddy. Oh, just one second I almost forgot, Mr. Borden asked me to bring back the eggs with me. Would you take the trouble to collect them for me so they will be ready when I come?

Well, thanks a lot. And that'll save Mr. Eddy a trip to Fall River, won't it?

Yes, so I heard. Tell me, how is he?

I am glad to hear that. OK, good-bye for now and be seeing you shortly.

Good-bye, Mrs. Eddy.

2. It is doubtful that 'Me and Brownie' ever entered the loft of the barn. According to *The Evening Standard*³⁸ the boys testified as follows.

Everett Brown:

Q: Where?

A: Went into the barn and stayed there to see which would

go up first.

Q: He dared you?

A: He said he wouldn't go up, because someone might drop an ax down on us.

Brown said that they went up and stayed about five minutes.

Thomas C. Barlow:

Q: Tell us what you did in the barn.

A: Went into the barn, up in the hay loft and looked out of the window at the west end and looked over the hay.

Q: How was the heat in the barn compared to that outdoors?

A: It was cooler in the barn than it was outdoors.

Q: Does the roof run right down to the plates, and do you know the sun was beating right down there?

A: Yes, Sir.

Q: Now, what made you think it was cooler in there?

A: It's always cooler in the house than it is outdoors.

Q: How long did you stay there (in the barn)?

A: Half an hour.

There can be no doubt that the heat was much worse in the loft than it was out in the open and if young Barlow had entered the loft he would have felt it. Even if both the loft windows had been open, which they were probably not, there would not have been enough cross-draught to lower the temperature essentially on a warm day like this. Either Barlow was referring to the condition downstairs in the barn - there it might have been cooler - or he was relying on his general experience that on hot days it is always cooler indoors than outdoors. Probably the boys did not want to admit that they had been too scared to enter the loft. If this is the case their testimony does not discredit Officer Medley's alleged observations.

3. One can ask, why did Lizzie go out to the barn? That she had to *claim* that she left the house was of course necessary but why did she have to *do* it? To do it meant a risk that someone would see her both go out and come back and notice that there were only a few minutes between the two events. It would have been much simpler and less risky for her to stay in the kitchen while her father was being killed. The only thing that confirms that she did go out to the barn is Hyman Lubinsky's testimony. Can he have made a mistake either as to time or as to place or did he give a gallant testimony, wanting to "rescue a damsel in distress?" He testified that the woman's dress was dark in color, which goes well with the dress that Lizzie gave to the police as the dress she had been wearing at the time of the murders. He also said that the lady he saw did not have anything on her head which is contradicted by Lizzie's own testimony.³⁹

Q: When you came down from the barn, what did you do then?

A: Came into the kitchen.

Q: What did you do then?

A: Went into the dining room and laid down my hat.

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One of Lizzie's first statements after the murders was that she had heard a groan. She could have heard that from the kitchen but not from the back yard or the barn.

CONCLUSION

As usual the prosecution and the defense argued from two opposite assumptions. The prosecution's was, 'She is guilty and consequently she did it.' The defense claimed, 'She didn't do it and consequently, she is not guilty.'

These two assumptions seem to have formed the basis of almost all subsequent research which has been one of the most intensive ever bestowed on a murder case. But the result has not been successful. To this day no theory based on either of the above assumptions has produced a sensible and plausible explanation of the crime. There is, of course, a reason for this. Both the above assumptions are wrong and consequently all theories based on those assumptions will also be wrong. Time - the infallible arbiter - says so! The correct assumption is a medley of the two. *She didn't do it!* - and yet - *She was guilty!*

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- 24 Lizzie Borden, did she or didn't she - a collection of reproduced pages from *The Evening Standard*
- 25 Lizzie Borden, did she or didn't she - a collection of reproduced pages from *The Evening Standard*
- 26 Lizzie Borden, did she or didn't she - a collection of reproduced pages from *The Evening Standard*
- 27 Lizzie Borden, did she or didn't she - a collection of reproduced pages from *The Evening Standard*
- 28 Lizzie Borden, did she or didn't she - a collection of reproduced pages from *The Evening Standard*
- 29 Pretrial testimonies, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- 30 Lizzie Borden, did she or didn't she - a collection of reproduced pages from *The Evening Standard*
- 31 *The Legend 100 Years after the Crime* - a conference on the Lizzie Borden Case
- 32 Edmund Pearson - *The Trial of Lizzie Borden 1937*
- 33 Arnold R. Brown - *Lizzie Borden, the Legend, the Truth, the Final Chapter*
- 34 Victoria Lincoln - *A Private Disgrace*
- 35 Inquest testimonies, transcript - *Fall River Historical Society*
- 36 Stenographer's minutes of police reports - *Fall River Historical Society*
- 37 David Kent in collaboration with R. Flynn - *The Lizzie Borden Sourcebook*
- 38 *Lizzie Borden, did she or didn't she* - a collection of reproduced pages from *The Evening Standard*
- 39 Lizzie Borden inquest testimony - *Fall River Historical Society*

(Editor's note: Our thanks to Mr. Adilz for developing a theory, using credible source references, and having the determination to produce the words that frame his concepts. Fritz, we look forward to your next study ... Perhaps that fertile mind and active pen is at this moment charting another course)

LIZZIE MAKES THE GRADE

By Jane Rimer

(Editor's note: I received a lovely letter from Ms. Rimer in which the cartoon at the bottom of this page was enclosed, along with these words ... "From a most devoted Lizzie buff, reader of the *Quarterly*, attendee at the Centennial, 1992." I immediately wrote back and requested an address where I could write for permission to print it. Not only did Ms. Rimer furnish the address, she also wrote, obtained and forwarded the required clearance. Included was this delightful first-person article.)

My introduction to the Borden murder case came to me indirectly and without warning. My high school English teacher, Mrs. Fowler, ever so softly suggested that there might be a connection between Edgar Allen Poe's temperament and his work. I felt she wanted the class to understand Poe's alcoholism, not necessarily condone it. The madness of Poe's characters might suggest his own inability to cope with the world; perhaps he had even committed murder, as had some of his characters!

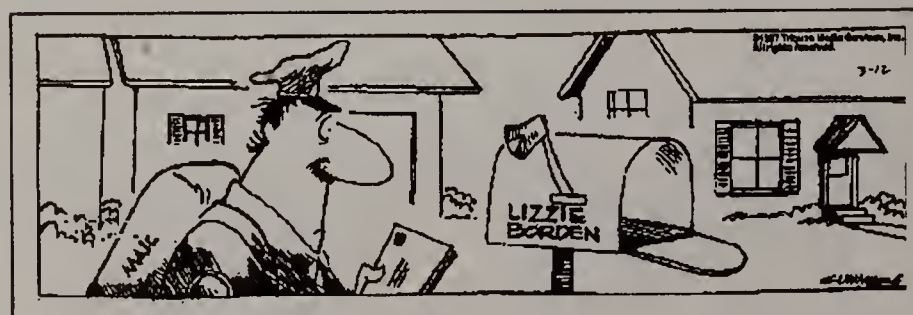
Such objectivity from the teacher opened up my soul. I had never experienced an adult speaking in such non-judgmental ways. And about so hideous a topic! I felt at once on the brink of sophistication and on the edge of discovery: peeking into a life that was bizarre and trying to make some sense of it.

I would never know if Poe had murdered; so I began researching those who did. Thus entered Lizzie Borden, two years later, just before I graduated. The case hooked me at once - the contrasting characters, the comical comings and goings, the coolness of Lizzie in court. My aunt felt Bridget killed the couple because "maids were treated badly in those days," but I "knew" it was Lizzie and no one else.

Mrs. Fowler would have been proud; I didn't criticize or condone Lizzie. I reasoned she was a trapped, misunderstood female who knew no other way out. No, she should not have killed, but - after all, her father *was* stingy and odd and unloving. How *could* I reason out a murder? What on earth was wrong with me? Rather embarrassed at my rapture and reasoning, I (figuratively, of course) forced myself into the closet of conscience - much better that I keep the Borden obsession to myself.

Then, years later, came word of the Lizzie Borden Centennial Conference. Of course I opened that closet door. Fall River, 1992. Out in the open, freely, happily, surrounded by 400 people who had the same obsession as I. I listened to lectures, purchased Lizzie products and contentedly conversed with cohorts.

I really didn't need the Conference to verify my sanity regarding my interest in Lizzie Borden. But it helped!



The postman, delivering the latest issue of the *Lizzie Borden Quarterly*

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STRANGE BEHAVIOR OF JOHN VINNICUM MORSE

By Arnold R. Brown

In the event you are not the least bit concerned or don't give a fig as to what Hiram C. Harrington's home address was in 1892, please read the included reproduction of a *Daily Globe* article dated August 6, 1892.

Uncle John Morse's first sojourn out of the Borden house on the Friday evening following the murders has been cited repeatedly in almost all accounts of the Borden murders. His second journey of the evening has been totally overlooked and ignored by all as being of no importance whatsoever. It is, in actual fact, of tremendous significance. That evening he broke his house parole twice. The first outing was to POST a letter or letters (the "official" poppycock attempts to cover up this most germane fact by saying he went to the Post Office to GET the household's mail). His second recorded trip was to visit with someone who lived on Turner Street.

In that era, two houses stood on Turner Street, wedged between the extremely busy major railroad depot and North Main Street. Unless Mrs. Brigham's information is incorrect, one of these two was the home of Uncle Hiram Harrington. WHY would Morse go there? I'm a skeptic by nature but, had I been the beloved and venerated Hon. Hosea M. Knowlton, Esq., I would have asked either or both of these gentlemen why there was a pressing need for conversing together that evening. For some reason, in any or all of the four hearings or trials in which Morse and Mr. Harrington testified, this question was never asked.

The Mellon House gang did their wondrous works in a most mysterious, highly successful and highly profitable way.

LIZZIE BORDEN AND THE SPINSTER MYSTIQUE

By Denise Noe

(A thoughtful piece by our friend Denise, who appears frequently in these pages. This time her sensitivity probes being a 'spinster' in today's world ... and Lizzie's. Today's thought with yesterday's deeds. Provocative? Perhaps. Interesting? Most assuredly.)

One of the main reasons Lizzie Borden continues to fascinate us, in this writer's opinion, is that she was a spinster. This is not just a matter of her never having married but of the Bordens having lived in an era when "spinster" was the word for an adult woman in that state.

Today we have more single women than ever but none who are "spinsters" as the term was used in Borden's day. Rather, we have swinging singles (though this term may be on its way to passé status), career women (ditto due to its lack of a male equivalent), just plain "singles" (the least problematic expression), and lesbians ("out" and "closeted"). Most recently, we have proud virgins of both genders making the talk show rounds and daring audiences to hurl that despised epithet -- "repressed" -- at *them*. We even have those who apply the term "spinster" or "old maid" to themselves -- but they do so, ironically, as a member of a racial or sexual minority might use a despised "fighting word" for him or herself.

Lizzie Borden was a spinster during a time when, almost invariably, not marrying was the result of failing to find a socially

From The Fall River DAILY GLOBE - August 6, 1892

INTENSE EXCITEMENT

Three Thousand People Follow Morse to the Post Office.

The greatest excitement since the first announcement of the tragedy was manifested last night when Morse made his appearance shortly after 8 o'clock. He came out through the front door, passed through the gate and started down Second Street.

Word was passed to Officer Minnehan who was guarding the rear of the building and he immediately started to shadow Morse. The crowd, seeing the officer starting off somewhat hurriedly, made a grand rush after him and in a few seconds a howling mob of nearly a thousand people were rushing after Minnehan and Morse and the amusing part was that not one in fifty knew what they were running for.

Morse walked steadily down Second Street, seemingly ignorant of the presence of the crowd; he crossed Pleasant Street passing along the east side of Market square. Near the Post Office he met a lady with whom he passed a few words and then mounted the steps and walked through the corridor.

The crowd had by this time increased until there must have been three thousand people crowded about the building and all asking 'what's the matter?' Morse's reappearance was not a signal for a demonstration, as so few knew him, and when he started on the return trip the mob was still holding their eyes fast on the Custom House and but few followed him.

He returned to the house with the mail and shortly after nine o'clock reappeared and walked down to Main Street where he boarded a Bowenville car. Officer Minnehan was also on the car and shadowed the man to the house on Turner Street. He made but a short stay and returned again directly to the Borden house.

acceptable match. Thus, while "spinster" may have carried connotations of loneliness, envy, and eccentricity during the time Lizzie lived, today, in our post-Freudian era, we think of sexual repression. Of course, single women of the past performed vital family functions ("spinster" derives from the work of spinning threads) so "spinster" also suggests selflessness, shyness, and purity. ("Nun" has both light and dark associations in an even more exaggerated form.)

Lizzie, accused of butchering a woman and a man, was, despite her certain virginity, anything but pure and selfless. Neither did she fit the dark stereotype of spinsterhood -- at least in real life as opposed to legend. Prior to the trial, Lizzie had not been at all reclusive. She had many friends and was active in church and social affairs. Her seclusion was always only "semi" and only to the degree forced on her by public ostracism. The ability to entertain show business people like the beautiful Nance O'Neil is something Miss Lizzie gained from her inheritance (whether or not she was responsible for hurrying it up).

Nevertheless, legend will not be deterred by fact and, just as Miss Lizzie owed her acquittal to myths about "ladies" held in the last century, she will haunt us through the next one, aided by stereotypes about "spinsters" which will persist through the millennium.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY RESTORATION

(Continued from Page 1)

from your editor's office. She drew attention to several framed photographs in the Parlor. These included her grandmother Caroline Slade Brayton (Mrs. Hezekiah A. Brayton), and her aunt Mary Brayton Durfee who died of scarlet fever at the age of twelve. On display are a milk cup and napkin ring that belonged to Miss Durfee. Mrs. Brown has a granddaughter named Abby Durfee Brown. She claimed she was brought up on the Lizzie Borden "thing" and that her mother had been acquainted with Miss Lizbeth.



The Magnificent Mantel in the Parlor

(Front page, Column 3)
Photograph by Jeannine H. Bertolet

THE BORDEN DISPLAY

Items related to the Borden case have been gathered into a room of their own. These are located in the first room on the left as you enter the *Fall River Historical Society* by the front door. This will be the final season to view the Second Street guest room's blood-stained shams and bed coverings. Over the years, the sun has taken its toll and these items must be stored in a more friendly environment. Photographs will be used in their stead. All other artifacts will remain available for observation.

Recent acquisitions include previously unpublished photo-

graphs of Andrew, Sarah, Emma and Lizzie Borden. In addition, there is finally a photograph available of John Vinnicum Morse, Sarah's brother. For the first time we can view a photograph instead of the oft-printed sketch. For those of our readers who were unaware of this cache, it is well worth your while to make a visit. In addition, the available books and research material for sale cannot be over emphasized.

OTHER RESTORATION HIGHLIGHTS

Before leaving the *Fall River Historical Society*, I would be remiss without mentioning other restored areas including the main hallway, second floor hallway, master bedroom, mistress



The Borden Display

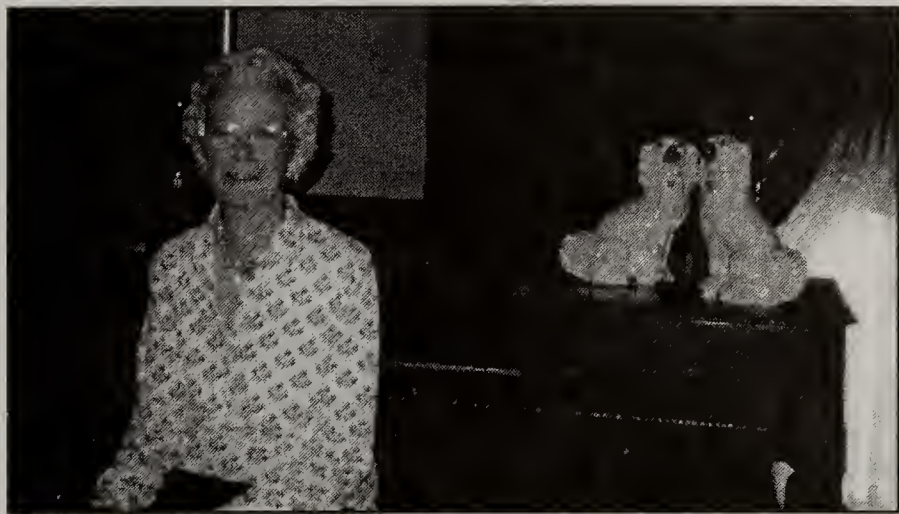
A corner of the room in which are displayed items relating to the Andrew J. Borden family
Photograph by Jeannine H. Bertolet

bedroom and the dressing room in between. Open to the public for the first time are a maid's bedroom and bathroom located in an ell connected by a spiral staircase. The bathroom is complete with bathtub, hot and cold running water and flush toilet. Also on the second floor is a room dedicated to the old *Fall River Line* which was a renowned marine passenger line. It was in existence for 90 years from 1847 through 1937. As you walk into the room, on the right is a scale model of the *Commonwealth*, which was the largest ship in the line. It served the area from 1907 through 1937, was 456 feet long and held 2003 passengers with a full crew. Lizzie would have known all about this vessel.

A SHOWCASE FOR COSTUMES

Your editor was singularly captivated by the former china and glass room on the second floor which now houses glass cabinets and cases containing items from the *Historical Society's* large collection of period costumes and clothing from the Roaring

Twenties. One of the room's focal points is a chandelier which originally hung in Chateau Sur Mer in Newport, R.I. It was given to the Society by the Misses Edith and Maude Wetmore, the final residents of the mansion. A prominent item on display is a mother-of-pearl silk bridal gown with court train and Irish point lace collar and sleeves. While viewing this, the hundred-year-old mystery once again merged with present thoughts, words and deeds. Why so, you might ask? The answer is very simple. It belonged to that grand lady of Fall River, Mrs. Florence Cook Brigham. (See the "Lizzie Borden Quarterly," October, 1996, Front Page)



Benefactress Mrs. Mary Brayton Durfee Brown

Sitting at the spinet piano in the parlor
Photograph by Jeannine H. Bertolet



The Florence Cook Brigham Bridal Gown with Train

On display in *The Fall River Historical Society* newly restored Costume Room
Photograph by Jeannine H. Bertolet



Business Manager Ms. Anna Duphiney

At her station in the gift shop with *Historical Society* supporter Mr. Timothy Belt
Photograph by Jeannine H. Bertolet

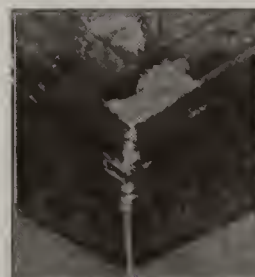


The "Commonwealth," a scaled model

On display in the *Fall River Historical Society* "Fall River Line" Room
Photograph by Jeannine H. Bertolet

ON THE ROAD AGAIN

After leaving Fall River, it seemed a large portion of our conscious thoughts were, once again, left behind ... Second Street ... Maplecroft ... and ... Oak Grove ... which holds the mystery's final answer



Before and After



These two pictures are the same segment of the Northeast corner parlor ceiling. The picture on the left was taken before restoration, and the one on the right ... after.
Photographs by Dennis A. Binette

RESEARCH DISCOVERS AN UNKNOWN SIDE OF ANDREW J. BORDEN

By Jamelle Tanous

Research by Dennis A. Binette

(Editor's note: It is indeed most satisfactory to welcome two such knowledgeable and talented people to the pages of "The Lizzie Borden Quarterly." Ms. Tanous is an Archivist for "The Fall River Historical Society." Mr. Binette's official title is Assistant Curator of "The Fall River Historical Society," however he also bears renown for his superb archive and research activities. We are printing this article with permission granted by "The Fall River Historical Society." The subject they cover is not to be lightly regarded. Expect to see additional information on this topic in the future. Please see the exhibits on the facing page.)

The Historical Society's archives contain a considerable amount of information in room after room of books, manuscripts, correspondence and photographs. Recently, a series of 19th century ledgers was being cataloged and a gem was unearthed that dispelled a myth that has existed for over a century. Many have spoken of Andrew J. Borden's unwillingness to spend money on modern conveniences such as electricity, running water or modern plumbing. We can now lay to rest the rumor that Mr. Borden did not provide his family with city water. While poring through four years of Fall River Water Department records, it was discovered that, not only did Andrew Borden furnish his Second Street home with running water, but also his business, Borden, Almy & Co.

The Fall River Water Works Application for Supplies (Account No. 80) shows that Borden, Almy & Co. requested water be furnished for their furniture store on April 11, 1874. This request was followed three days later by another (Account No. 92) for the same establishment, but for the stable there. Installation of the city water connection at Andrew Borden's business was done on April 25, 1874 and May 15, 1874, respectively.

At Andrew Borden's Second Street home, the connection for city water (applied for under Account No. 223) was made on June 19, 1874 by Cook and Grew, plumbers. The house was outfitted with not one, but two, faucets. Water rates as published by the Fall River Water Board were \$5.00 annually for one faucet and \$2.50 annually for each additional faucet, thereby resulting in a \$7.50 water charge for the Borden residence.

So much has been said about the stinginess of Andrew Borden but this discovery causes him to be perceived in a different light, not only because he *had* city water, but *when* he had it installed. According to the Report of the Watuppa Water Board to the City Council of Fall River, in a brief history of the Water Works published in 1875, it is stated that "the engine was started on the 5th of January, 1874; and on the 8th the water was in the mains as far as Main Street. On May 8, 1874 about twelve miles of cast iron water pipes had been laid, and 100 service connections had been attached." Andrew Borden's application and subsequent installation in his home were done not six months after the convenience was first made available to the residents of Fall River. This is certainly not the picture of Mr. Borden we so often see painted. Interestingly enough, it was Abraham Borden, Andrew's father, who was to wait another year before his

application for city water, which was submitted on April 20, 1875 (Account No. 635).

We are pleased to be able to set the record straight on one of the most frequently spouted misconceptions of the character of Andrew J. Borden. Discoveries such as these show the value of careful and persistent research. The Historical Society is fortunate to have such a rich and precious archive, filled with gems like these waiting to be discovered every day.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHIC BORDEN

(Continued from page 4)

The supervisor mentioned another strange occurrence connected to Miss Lizzie. Once a year, on the anniversary of her death, a donor would ask him to place yellow roses on Lizzie's grave. One year the donor actually showed up and the supervisor accompanied her to visit the grave. The donor asked Lizzie to give her a sign. A single leaf floated down between the two visitors.

That's all for now. See you in the next issue.

Hold the press ... Hold the press ... Hold the press ...

Lizzie Borden House Bed and Breakfast News

While in the final moments of composition, the Editor's office received the following news about events taking place next month. Please see the advertisement on the back cover.

August 1 at 7:00 P.M.

Heritage State Park

Lizzie Borden - Whispers

\$15.00 in advance - Seating limited to 125 people

August 2 at 7:00 P.M.

The Lizzie Borden Second Street House

Lizzie Borden - Whispers

\$15.00 in advance - Participation limited to 25 people

August 3 and 4, 11:00 A.M. through 3:00 P.M.

The Lizzie Borden Second Street House

Meet the Bordens

\$7.50, includes a tour

August 3 and 4 from 5:00 P.M. through 6:30 P.M.

Symposium with Guest Speakers

\$10.00 per person - Participation limited to 15 people per group

Reservations Required

In the Parlor:

A Conversation with Lizzie and Emma

Featuring Debbie Ali and Kathie Goncalo

In the Dining Room:

Bridget Sullivan, What She Knew and Didn't Know

With George Quigley

In the Sitting Room:

Forensic Medicine and the Borden Case

With Allen Brake

For additional information and reservations call (508) 675-7333

THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING

We have heard so many times about the stinginess of Mr. Andrew J. Borden. It was just this month (June, 1997) that the *Arts & Entertainment* cable channel reran *Lizzie Borden - A Woman Accused* on their *Biography* series. The same old, tired rhetoric was served-up, including the statement that Mr. Borden was so cheap he never had running water It looks like the weather all over again. Enough said! We thank Jamelle and Dennis for reminding us there is no substitute for research.

Fall River Water Department Records 1874 - 1878

Date.	No.	Stop.	Names.	No. of Street.	Building.	Purposes.	Kind of Pipe.	Size of Pipe.
1874								
June 19	168	227	Dr. David J. Borden	66 Second St	Stable	domestic	Lead	5/8
	169	192	William Borden	24 Pine	Swelling	"	"	"
	170	232	Anna Cornell	24 Eagle	"	"	"	"
	171	229	A. J. Borden	66 Second	"	"	"	"
20	172	311	Mariah Gulling	106 Commercial	2 Personal	"	"	"
	173	198	Elizabeth Borden	Pratt	Swelling	"	"	"
	174	197	Cornelius Borden	71 Center	"	"	"	"
	175	186	J. J. Gregory	Cor. Spring & Pine	Outing	"	"	"
	176	254	Robert Macfarlane	12 Cottage	Swelling	"	"	3/4 1/2
22	177	189	John J. Northway	57 Pine St	"	"	"	5/8
	178	245	Cor. Borden & Co.	Swallow	Office	"	"	5/8
	179	235	Wm. Davis	Cor. Maple & Maple	Swelling	"	"	3/4
	180	229	Gene J. Borden	66 Second St	Personal	"	"	5/8
	181	249	Chas. J. Small	Swallow	Stable	"	"	1/2

Official June 19 - 23, 1874 Fall River Water Department Records

Andrew J. Borden had running water effective June 19, 1874. Due to the toll of time, the records are a bit difficult to decipher, however, a few moments of study will enable the reader to discern the facts. Mr. Borden's entry is the fourth line, lightly shaded. Please note the address, 66 Second Street. This was before the first renumbering that changed 66 to 92.

Records reproduced courtesy of the Fall River Historical Society. Digital conversion by Bertollet Archives.

METER READINGS.						
Andrew J. Borden Second Street 70.7						
MONTHS	PREVIOUS READING	PRESENT READING	NO. OF GALLONS	AMOUNT	PAID	
Oct 5 1875		312	2340	70	70	
Dec 11 1876	312	369	577	70	193	
Feb 11 1877	369	1909	5540	167	167	
July 11 1877	1909	3927	7630	222	540	

Nancy R. B. Borden Recd 24 June

Andrew J. Borden Water Meter Readings

From his connection date on June 19, 1874 through October 5, 1875, it cost Mr. Borden 70¢ for one year, three months and 16 days of water.

Records reproduced courtesy of The Fall River Historical Society
Digital conversion by Bertollet Archives

FALL RIVER WATER WORKS.	
APPLICATION FOR SUPPLIES.	
FALL RIVER, June 19 1874	
I HEREBY ACKNOWLEDGE the receipt of a copy of the Regulations prescribed by the Commissioners of the City, for use of Water, and I request that the water may be furnished me at _____ Street, at such rates as may from time to time be established by the City.	
I hereby agree that the water shall be exclusively employed for _____ purposes, that it shall be used only on my premises by me, my employees or tenants, and that no one shall be allowed to carry water from thence to any other premises, except in case of fire, under penalty of the water being cut off.	
And I hereby agree to pay promptly the bill for the Service Pipe laid down for my premises, and to pay all bills for water; and I agree to conform to the said Regulations and to all the provisions of the Water Department, until written notice is given by me or my agent to cut off the supply.	
Account No. 92	Wm. Davis
SUBSCRIBER	Andrew J. Borden

FALL RIVER WATER WORKS.	
APPLICATION FOR SUPPLIES.	
FALL RIVER, June 29 1874	
I HEREBY ACKNOWLEDGE the receipt of a copy of the Regulations prescribed by the Commissioners of the City, for use of Water, and I request that the water may be furnished me at _____ Street, at such rates as may from time to time be established by the City.	
I hereby agree that the water shall be exclusively employed for _____ purposes, that it shall be used only on my premises by me, my employees or tenants, and that no one shall be allowed to carry water from thence to any other premises, except in case of fire, under penalty of the water being cut off.	
And I hereby agree to pay promptly the bill for the Service Pipe laid down for my premises, and to pay all bills for water; and I agree to conform to the said Regulations and to all the provisions of the Water Department, until written notice is given by me or my agent to cut off the supply.	
Account No. 60	Abraham Borden
SUBSCRIBER	Abraham Borden

Borden and Almy Application for Water (Top)

The application for the Andrew Borden residence was probably stolen. The lower application was for Abraham Borden, Andrew's father.

Records reproduced courtesy of The Fall River Historical Society
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At the Lizzie Borden B & B Museum

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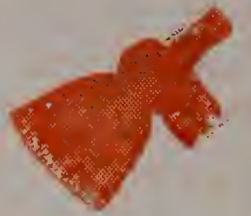
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THE

LIZZIE BORDEN QUARTERLY

Volume IV, Number 4

\$4.00

October, 1997

What's In A Name?:

EDMUND PEARSON AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF BIOGRAPHY INTO LEGEND

By Gabriela Schalow Adler

(Editor's note: We are pleased to welcome Dr. Adler to the pages of the "Lizzie Borden Quarterly." Although she may be a stranger to the LBQ, she has been involved with the "Lizzie Legend" for several years. As a matter of fact, she was acknowledged for her participation in the 1992 Bristol Community College "Legend" Conference. And, as luck would have it, Dr. Adler is the Coordinator of Reader's Services in the Learning Resources Center at Bristol. This article was taken from a paper she delivered at the Popular Culture Association Conference in Las Vegas during March of 1996. It is indeed a pleasure to receive such a well-written and impressively-articulated article.)

In 1992, Rhode Island cartoonist Don Bousquet, in a flash of brilliance, paid tribute to our beloved Lizzie by playing on the U.S. Postal Service's popular campaign to encourage the public to vote for the Elvis stamp. You may recall that the choice was between young/thin and old/fat Elvis. Bousquet's cartoon depicting the Lizzie stamp rightly focuses on good Lizzie/bad Lizzie. *(Editor's note: Please see cartoon on page 13.)* This may seem terribly reductive, but such is the fate of pop culture icons, be they the King of Rock 'n Roll or the Queen (alleged) of Axe Murderers. And in this small graphic joke, Bousquet epitomizes a central problem of Lizzie Borden, and the way she is so often perceived and represented in our culture. She is seen in binary terms, usually as bad Lizzie, the Lizzie who killed her parents. Binary oppositions are a common organizing principle in Western

thought, but they often collapse on closer examination, and this is so with Lizzie, whose story is so much more complicated. But how did the historical, reclusive Lizzie Borden who was, let's not forget, acquitted of murder, become the legendary axe murderess we think we know so well? This was surely a complex process. I want



Edmund Lester Pearson (1880-1937)

Reproduced from *Masterpieces of Murder* by Gerald Gross
Published 1963 by Bonanza Books, a Division of Crown Publishers, Inc.
New York City, New York
By Arrangement with Little, Brown & Company
Digital Conversion by Bertolet Archives

to focus on one significant part, the work of Edmund Pearson. He had much to do with turning the woman into a (haunting) criminal, something the juridical process failed to do.

Edmund Lester Pearson was not the first to publish a book about Lizzie, but he was the most influential writer on the Borden case in the early decades of this century, and did much to shape and popularize the Borden legend. Most of his books are currently out of print, but in his day he was immensely successful and popular. Occasional reprints of his pieces on Lizzie continue to appear. The standard reference book *Twentieth Century Authors* cites him as having "an international reputation as the foremost American writer on celebrated crimes ... certainly the most readable."

His crime books all follow the same format, in which several important cases are described and analyzed in his characteristically breezy and entertaining manner. Oddly enough, Lizzie Borden appears in all four, and is the sole subject of his final volume. In chronological order, Pearson's oeuvre includes: *Studies in Murder*, 1924; *Murder at Smutty Nose and other Murders*, 1927; *Five Murders; With a Final Note on the Borden Case*, 1928; *More Studies in Murder*, 1936 and *The Trial of Lizzie Borden* in 1937.

Studies in Murder, his first and perhaps best known work, has been

(Continued on Page 13)

THE LIZZIE BORDEN QUARTERLY

A Different Menu:

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- Porter's *Fall River Tragedy* - How Rare? Page 3.
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- Sherlock Holmes and the Fall River Tragedy* Page 6.
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Two Book Reviews:
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Lisa Zawadzki
- The Edmund Pearson/Frank Knowlton Correspondence Page 7.
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By Maynard F. Bertolet

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- LIZBITS** Page 5.
by Neilson Caplain
- PRINCESS MAPLECROFT** Page 11.
by Mary T. Cusack



MISS LIZBETH BORDEN'S EDITOR SPEAKS

This issue should prove to have more 'meat' than McDonalds. In the last issue we polled the readership for first-edition *Fall River Tragedy* owners. Lo and behold, our resident Sherlockian, Mr. Schley-Ulrich wrote a brilliant article on the subject. And, speaking of brilliance, just wait till you read Dr. Gabriela Adler's 'Pearson' piece, and for honest-to-goodness interest and exclusivity, the serialization of Pearson's correspondence with Frank Knowlton.

Then, two book reviews are offered for Owen Haskell's new Lizzie novel. Also, please read the startling news about a most significant retrial of Miss Lizzie. I only hope you will enjoy this issue as much as I.

Oh yes, please check your label on the last page. If you see **Remaining Issues: 0**, don't let the hatchet chop you off from our fun and frolic. We save money by not mailing expiration notices. Your cooperation is requested. Renew your subscription today!

Maynard F. Bertolet
Editor

THE LIZZIE BORDEN QUARTERLY

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Porter's "Fall River Tragedy" - How Rare?

By William Schley-Ulrich

(Editor's note: There comes a time in one's professional life when blessings seem to overcome reality. This is one of those times! It was only in the last issue when Mr. Stewart P. Evans from Suffolk, England wrote and suggested that the readership be polled for first-edition owners of Edwin H. Porter's "The Fall River Tragedy." Shortly thereafter, this excellent study was received from Mr. Schley-Ulrich. Included was a letter which read in part, "Whenever two or more Bordenians put their heads together, a popular topic for conversation is the number of Porter's books still in circulation - they talk, but no one does anything about it."

Well, that certainly is no longer true, at least in Mr. Schley-Ulrich's case. Using the Internet, and other more traditional tools, he has crafted not only an up-to-the-moment definitive piece, but also, a well-documented good read as well. Thank you sir!)

This 312-page shocker was written in 1893 by the 29-year-old police reporter Edwin H. Porter. It relates the bizarre tale of the unfilial 32-year-old spinster, who hastened the demise of her parsimonious papa and her stocky step-mamma on that fatal August morning in 1892. Porter's book was published privately by subscription and sold for \$1.50.

The original volume contained 50 photographs of the participants in this gory drama, but pictures of Lizzie Borden and Uncle John Morse are missing. One explanation offered for their absence was the author's fear of libel. Porter's newspaper, the *Fall River Globe*, had adopted a pro-prosecution mentality in the course of Lizzie's trial. This attitude was reflected in Porter's daily columns and was one he continued to pursue throughout his book.

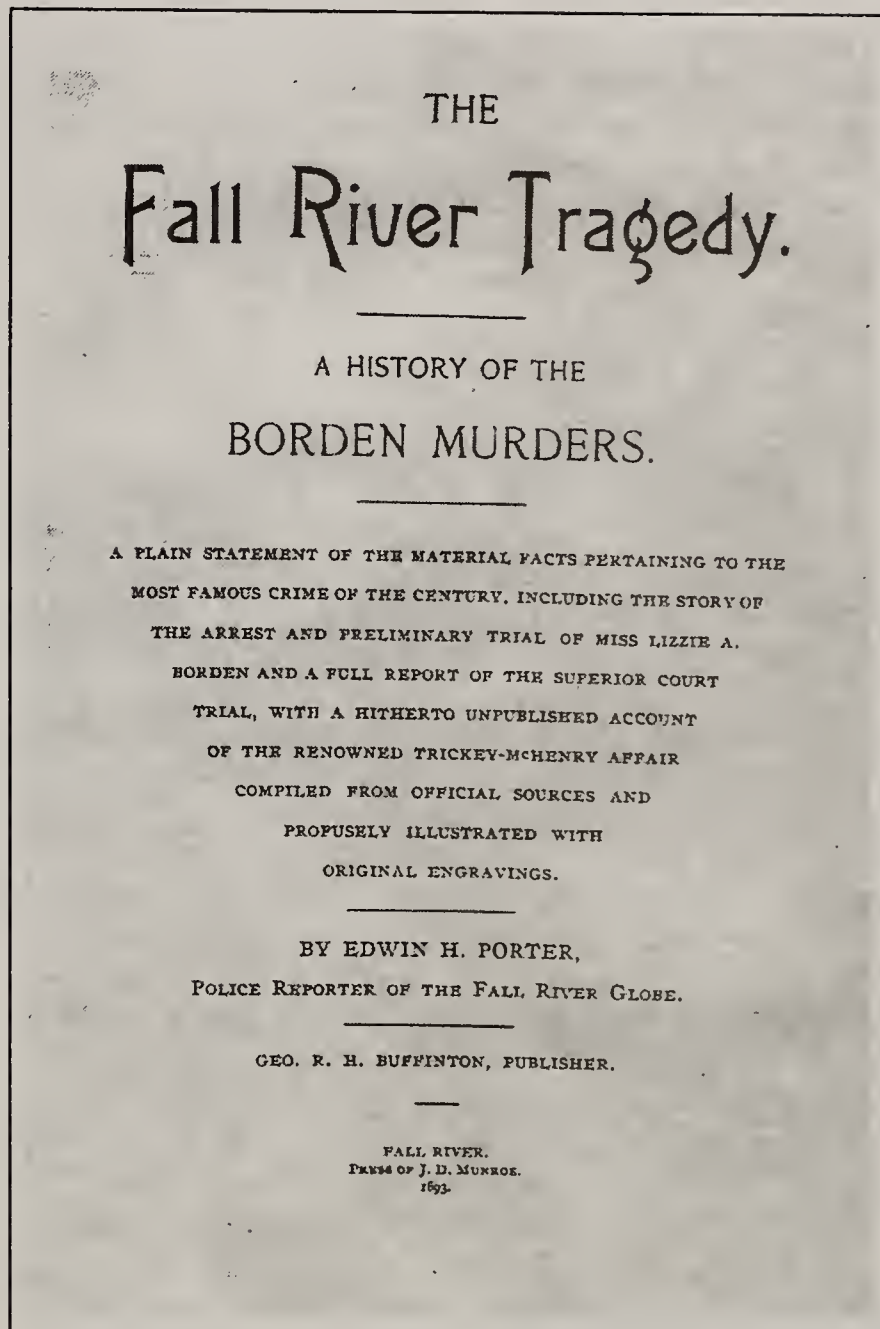
Porter died in 1904. His obituary in the *Fall River Globe* predicted that Porter's book would continue to be read long after the author's passing.

Mr. Robert A. Flynn, publisher and well-known collector of Lizzie memorabilia, believes the printer made an initial run of 500 or so copies of the original edition. After experiencing a lukewarm reception from the general public, it was decided to discontinue publication. Flynn believes no more than 100 copies are extant.

A popular tale making the rounds tells of Lizzie buying and burning all but 25 subscription copies. No evidence to support this theory has ever surfaced.

Mr. Flynn published a facsimile of this rare work (*King Philip Publishing Company*) in 1985. Over 3000 copies have been sold and the release of a second edition is under review. The scarcity of the original volume has become almost as much a mystery as the Borden case itself. Flynn located his personal copy after a 40-year search. In his 45 years as a collector, and 25 years as an antiquarian bookseller, he has acquired a total of only five copies of the publication. In April of this year (1997) a dealer offered a copy of *The Fall River Tragedy* to him for \$2000. The offer was rejected.

At an antiquarian book sale several months ago, I discussed the rarity of Porter's volume with Mr. William Dunn, a dealer



Title Page of *The Fall River Tragedy* by Edwin H. Porter

Reproduced Courtesy of Robert A. Flynn
Digital Conversion by Bertolet Archives

from Meriden, Connecticut. He informed me that only seven copies had passed through his hands in the course of his twenty-odd years in the business. He stated it was quite possible he had handled the same book more than once. Mr. Dunn recently sold a volume of *The Fall River Tragedy* for \$900.

Mr. Patterson Smith, an antiquarian bookseller in Montclair, New Jersey, has specialized in literature on criminology for more than twenty-five years. During that period he has handled twenty copies of *The Fall River Tragedy*. Smith estimates there are still hundreds of copies 'out there', that have yet to see the light of day.

William Roughead, well-known Scottish true-crime writer, after reading Edmund Pearson's chapter on the Borden killings in his publication, *Studies in Murder*, wrote to Pearson and asked him to obtain a copy of *The Fall River Tragedy* regardless of the cost. In September of 1924, Pearson mailed the book to

(Continued on Page 17)

THE BIBLIOGRAPHIC BORDEN

by Lisa Zawadzki

Hello again, loyal readers. I hope everyone had a nice August 4th. I'm planning on doing a tour of 92 Second Street that week. I haven't been yet and I'm really looking forward to it. Once again I've compiled a list of readables for you on my trusty antique Macintosh. My techie co-workers can laugh, but it's never given me a bit a trouble, unlike some of the selections for this issue.

Songini, Marc:

Lizzie Borden and Her Forty Whacks

in "New England's Most Sensational Murders"

Covered Bridge Press,

North Attleborough, Massachusetts: 1995: Pages 144 - 164.

Songini provided a workable summary of the major events of the case, peppered with some nice historical and social background. This twenty-page essay was not a meticulous retelling of the crime scene, but rather an overview of the entire affair.

The facts as presented showed Lizzie in a guilty light. Unlike other authors who point the finger of guilt, these accusations were backed up with examples. Lizzie's contradictory answers, poison shopping, and hatred of her stepmother were all presented. The author caught many of the facts that others gloss over, for example remarking that Judge Dewey more or less told the jury to find Lizzie not guilty. The most current theories on the crime were also included. William Borden was mentioned, as was the possibility of incest.

A few factual errors took away from this otherwise likable essay. Right in the first sentence, the author gave August 3rd as the date of the murders. Later he stated that Lizzie died in 1944. (Although he did get the age when she passed away correct.)

Aside from these few small mistakes, this was a good readable effort. While slightly slanted against Miss Lizzie, the ideas put forth were fortified with research. The entire anthology was enjoyable and will especially appeal to my fellow New Englanders.

Gaute, J.H.H. and Robin Odell:

Borden Case

in "The Murderer's Who's Who:

Outstanding International Cases from the Literature of Murder in the Last 150 Years."

Montreal: Optimum Publishing Company, Ltd., 1979:

Pages 47 - 48.

I love British crime anthologies. They must publish at least one a month, and thank goodness for it. It makes my job much easier because Lizzie's usually in most of them. The British seem to find Lizzie as fascinating as we Americans do.

Sadly, this little snippet of an article was not anything remarkable. While it included two pictures, the actual piece gave only the quickest outline of the crime. Even that was somewhat off the mark. In describing Lizzie's attempts to purchase poison, the authors made it sound as if all the drug store owners in Fall River had actually sold her prussic acid.

All was not lost on this entry, however. The writers

redeemed themselves by providing an intriguing and surprisingly diverse bibliography, which included several obscure titles.

Towne, Charles Hanson:

The House of Lizzie Borden

in "Jogging Around New England."

New York: D. Appleton - Century Company, 1939:

Pages 44 - 49.



The author recounted a side trip to 92 Second Street in this travelogue of New England. While not impressed with the town of Fall River (a fact he managed to mention four times in five pages), he was quite impressed with the murder house.

When Towne arrived on Second Street, he was unsure if the directions given to him were correct. He asked a passing young man to point out the murder house. As luck would have it, the man was the owner's son and invited the author in. Towne was treated to the grand tour, complete with crime photographs shown by his host.

The breakfast appeared to haunt Towne the most. The thought of having to eat mutton, etc. in the heat seemed to really bother him. Although the author struck me as something of a snob, he provided a rare look inside the Borden house. Until a short time ago, this was an event few experienced.

Has everyone seen Lizzie on the TV show *The Simpsons*? She's appeared twice, so far. Once Bart's brainy classmate Martin was dressed up as her (I think it was for the school play). The other time Lizzie was on a jury chosen by the devil after Homer sold his soul for a donut. That Lizzie! She's even acting in cartoons. Nance O'Neil would have been proud. See you in the next issue.

The Editor would like to bring to your attention the special type printer font that headlines our regular features, *Bibliographic Borden*, *Lizbits* and *Princess Maplecroft*.

This font was not chosen by chance, to the contrary, it has a significant meaning!

For those who believe they may know the meaning thereof, please write and tell me your thoughts. The first 10 correct entries will receive a gratis electronic copy of the current updated *Lizzie Borden Chronology*.

by Neilson Caplain

Victoria Endicott Lincoln

Fall River rolled out the red carpet for Victoria Lincoln on Saturday, September 23, 1976. This illustrious daughter, resident there during her childhood, and product of that city's school system, was guest of honor at a public reception in the Fall River Library, interviewed by a local radio station, spoke at a local high school to a rapt audience of over 400, and attended a reception in her honor.

It was a day for Miss Lincoln to visit the scenes of her childhood and reminisce about her happy times in that place where she had her roots. She lived in Fall River from birth to 1927 (the year Lizzie Borden died).

Miss Lincoln, who started writing at the remarkable age of four, was the author of at least twelve works of fiction and non-fiction, some of which clearly reflected places and experiences in her home town. Notable among the books are *Grandmother and the Comet*, *A Dangerous Influence* and *Celia Amberly*, this latter being the story of the development of a young girl into womanhood.

Other works include *Charles* based on the life of Charles Dickens, *The Wind at My Back*, a compilation of short stories and just three days before her death she completed a study of the life of St. Teresa of Avila, Spain.

Perhaps the best known, aside from her opus on Lizzie Borden is *February Hill*. Issued in 1930 it immediately became the subject of controversy and a best seller. I haven't read the book for quite a while but what I recall mostly is its depiction of the struggles of young mill workers in Fall River, undergoing bitter cold in Winter and hot, noisy, humid work in the cotton mills in Summer.

Down the steep hill on Highland Avenue in Fall River leading to Route 24, and a bit off to the east stands an old cottage which, it is said by some natives, was where Victoria Lincoln envisioned the home of the family of the mill workers.

The book has been described as "a funny but also touching treatment of a highly unconventional family - a vivid evocation of Fall River in the heyday of the textile industry."

February Hill was later adapted for stage and screen as *The Primrose Path*, starring Ginger Rogers. Miss Lincoln spent some time in Hollywood for the filming of the picture.

The book and its adaptations became the subject of a million-dollar law suit because of its forthright description of the private lives of cotton brokers, mill workers, rum runners, and their romantic consorts. In 1950 Constance Winslow, then the curator at the *Fall River Historical Society*, wrote "The book used the actual names of persons and others so thinly veiled that we all knew who they were." Happily the legal action failed.

Miss Lincoln came by her writing talent naturally. Her father was Jonathan Thayer Lincoln, who wrote a series of magazine articles later issued in book form in 1909. Its title was *The City of the Dinner Pail* and is described as a social history of Fall River.

Her grandfather was Leontine Lincoln and her great-grandfather was the co-founder of the venerable Kilburn, Lincoln Company which traced its beginning to 1844.

Both her parent and grand-parent participated hugely in community and political affairs. In Miss Lincoln's day they lived on the Hill and the family was considered in the upper stratum of the social scale in this highly stratified city. Despite this upper-class upbringing, in *February Hill* and in *Lizzie Borden - A Private Disgrace*, Miss Lincoln was able to capture the very essence of the life and times of the era when Fall River was the largest cloth-making city in the world.

Furthermore, in her book on Lizzie Borden, Miss Lincoln was able to portray an insider's perspective and provide a woman's insight to the grizzly events that took place on Second Street. Much has been written about this book, and aside from the following few comments, a further review here could only be redundant.

She said that she rewrote the story five times. In 1967, it received an Edgar from the Mystery Writers of America for the best crime book of the year. Also this bit of Bordenania: Miss Lincoln wrote in a letter to a local reporter that the Bank Street home of her grandfather provided her with the prototype of the Andrew Borden murder house at 92 Second Street.

She was graduated in 1922 from the B.M.C. Durfee High School where she edited the school Record Book and wrote the class Ode. She completed her formal education at Radcliffe College and graduated in 1926. At school and afterwards she liked to be called Vickie.

She was considered a witty conversationalist, and in a letter she wrote, "I began to talk in sentences at 11 months and haven't shut up since." Her schoolmates remember her intelligence, humor, charm, and highly individual style. One of the delightful things about "Vickie" was her irresponsibility, her lack of organization; she was always searching for papers, pencils, books, hats and coats.

Of herself she wrote, "In my Yankee neighbors the general consensus was that I read too much and used big words."

In 1981 there was an exhibition of Victoria Lincoln's work, along with the work of other women authors. The exhibition was prepared by the Fall River Public Library and presented at the High School. The papers and memorabilia concerning Miss Lincoln were avidly sought by the prestigious Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe College.

Miss Lincoln exchanged a ten-year correspondence with Mel Yoken, one-time President of the *Friends of the Library*. Mr. Yoken said in a newspaper article that Miss Lincoln was a good, infectious person and that she had an ineffable joie de vivre. She was vital, dynamic and imaginative.

Victoria Lincoln married Dr. Victor Lowe in 1974. Three years later her husband accepted a post at Johns Hopkins University and consequently the family moved to Baltimore. She spent the rest of her life in that city. There were three children born to the Lowes, two daughters and a son.

Victoria Lincoln Lowe was born October 23, 1904. She died at the age of 76 after a long bout with bone cancer. A memorial service was held at the Second Presbyterian Church where she had been an active member.

(Continued on Page 19)

Sherlock Holmes and the Fall River Tragedy

A new book authored by Owen Haskell ... Two points of view

(Editor's note: We are thrice blessed with this piece. Firstly, a new novel with Miss Lizzie Borden as a main character. Secondly, our "Bibliographic Borden" author, Lisa Zawadzki, consented to extend her labors to grace us with a full-blown review. And thirdly, Denise Noe, the well-published author who reviewed "An Armchair Solution to the Borden Murders," lent her considerable talents to the project. The novel was published this year by the Lazarus Press, North Providence, R.I., and may be purchased for \$17.00 from Mr. Haskell at 1 Homes Street, North Providence, RI 02904-4519.)

A Book Review by Lisa Zawadzki

Hello yet again, loyal readers. I was flattered when our charming editor asked me to write a full-length book review. Everyone will get a double dose of the Bibliographic Borden in this issue. You also get to find out about Owen Haskell's latest work and it's one swell book. I'm sure all Borden readers remember this author's last effort, the delightful play "Lizzie!"

How often, especially while wading through some particularly convoluted narrative on these murders, have I wished for a Sherlock Holmes to come along and sort it all out for me. Mr. Haskell's Sherlock Holmes delivered a well thought-out and entertaining storyline that worked within the known facts.

If you ever wondered what Sherlock Holmes was up to during those years when the world thought him dead by the hand of Dr. Moriarty, look no further. He was in Fall River, investigating the Borden case! Upon his return to London, Holmes revealed to his friend Dr. Watson that he had solved this puzzling case as well. However, because of circumstances, the solution had to remain a secret.

So, of course, Dr. Watson couldn't have published this tale at the time. He waited many years, until those involved had passed on. Even then he wrote under a pseudonym, using the name of a scoundrel ancestor of Holmes' -- a forger named Owen Haskell. (Working that in was a very clever touch, I thought.)

Sherlock had many interesting adventures in the course of his inquiries. Snooping about Fall River, he visited Andrew's barber, chatted with Dr. Seabury Bowen, and bribed his way into 92 Second Street. Best of all, Holmes managed an eventful visit with Lizzie and Emma after the trial. Piecing all this knowledge together with information from various testimony transcripts, the sleuth arrived at his solution. I'm not going to reveal "who done it"; I'll leave that to Mr. Holmes and Dr. Watson.

Haskell relied on two pieces of court testimony for his investigators to examine. Lizzie's actual inquest testimony was used, as was Bridget's pretrial questioning. Interspersed within this text were Mr. Holmes' helpful commentaries. There were also maps of the layout of the house, useful for visualizing much of this discussion.

Using the genuine court records was an inventive way to let the reader inspect the evidence along with the detectives. However, it leads to one of my few complaints about this book. The testimony really slows down the storyline. Page after page of question and answer format became rather tedious after a while. Most of this was due to Lizzie, I think. What a maddening witness she must have been to interrogate! She was never sure, refused to give a definite answer, and then changed her answers without apology.

I was also not completely taken by the characterizations of Lizzie and Emma. Lizzie seemed to be childlike, dominated by her supposedly "shy and retiring" older sister. Maybe the image of the silent and stoic Borden sisters is etched too deeply into my mind. I could never see them confessing to anyone, especially someone they believed fictional. That said, Mr. Haskell did work that particular problem quite neatly into his plot.

Those small matters aside, I must say that I think Borden fans will definitely enjoy this literary "solution" to the murders. I know that I did. It is not often I finish a book in one sitting, but with this one I did. Mr. Haskell has penned another enjoyable read. This book makes a nice addition to any "Borden library."

A Book Review by Denise Noe

In this novel, Owen Haskell has set out on a challenging set of tasks: he must remain true to the well-known and complicated facts of the real-life Borden case, write a Sherlock Holmes who is worthy of Arthur Conan Doyle's legendary creation, and -- last but hardly least -- engage the reader.

His knowledge of the Borden case appears beyond reproach; as is a fiction writer's prerogative, he changes some of the facts to "lies" (false facts?) for the purposes of his story. He has also created a convincing Sherlock Holmes.

Has he written a good book? *Sherlock Holmes and the Fall River Tragedy* is often witty. Most importantly, as befits a mystery, Haskell comes up with a surprise villain and supports his choice with truths from the case. (He does not exonerate Lizzie but provides her with an accomplice whose part in the crime credibly explains the eternal mystery of the undiscovered hatchet and Lizzie's post-slaughter cleanliness.)

Haskell reprints Lizzie Borden's inquest testimony in full and much of Bridget Sullivan's as well. This was not necessary for the story line since the points made by them could have been more entertainingly integrated into the tale. It looks like the testimony was quoted verbatim to puff Haskell's work to book-length.

Though it is more authentically a short story than a novel, *Sherlock Holmes and the Fall River Tragedy* is a good read and should provide both Holmes fans and Borden buffs with an afternoon's diversion.



The Edmund Lester Pearson/Frank Warren Knowlton Correspondence

Part 1

The New York Public Library

Johns, Jones and Childs Foundations

475 FIFTH AVENUE

New York July 30, 1923

Dear Knowlton,- It is possible that you remember, but probable that you have forgotten one Edmund Pearson, who sat at your table in Memorial Hall, and used to talk with you about the Borden case. I am that same man, and still interested in that case, next to the trial of Professor Webster, it is Massachusetts' greatest murder case.

I am writing for The Macmillan Company, which publishes my books, a volume to contain some five or six essays of considerable length about certain extraordinary American murder trials or cases. One of them is finished; on another, the trials of Thomas Bram in Boston, I am now working, and have ~~access to~~ the stenographic reports of both trials, thanks to Mr. Asa Branch and Mr. Boyd Jones, who were on opposite sides in the second trial. Newspaper reports are not sufficient for my purpose, as I am trying to give a more correct account than they furnish. In short, I am trying to do what is done by British writers on these subjects: to give an authoritative brief history of each case, not deal with them as the average writer for the Sunday newspaper would do. When I say brief, I do not mean a mere sketch; the essays will run to about ten to twelve thousand words apiece, but they are not, of course, complete reports of the trials. I have the only book, so far as I know, ever published on the Borden case: it is by Porter of the Fall River Globe, it is out of print and scarce. I have heard that the Borden estate bought it up and suppressed it, as far as possible. I am also planning to go to Fall River to learn what I can there.

What I wish, of course, is to get reports of the testimony and arguments in the preliminary hearing at Fall River, as well as in the trial itself. If it is possible, and if you feel willing to do this, will you lend me for my use here in New York, such ~~records~~ ^{reports} as belong to your father's estate, from his participation in these trials? If this is not possible, or agreeable to you in any way, can

2

you put me in the way of obtaining the records elsewhere? The case must go in the book; its peculiar nature, the interest it aroused then still exists, I find, in many quarters; the distinguished counsel engaged; the peculiar rulings of the court; all these make it plain that Miss Borden is my *prima donna*.

I may add that I am a writer of some years of experience, with some knowledge of how to work with material like this, and that I am also a librarian (Editor of Publications at this Library) and hence a safe man to be trusted with valuable books. All this is to lead you to take judicial notice of the fact that I am not a yellow journalist.

Any information which you can give me re. the Borden case will be most gratefully received. And your Petitioner will ever pray.

Faithfully yours

Edmund Lester Pearson
Edmund Lester Pearson

INTRODUCTION

By Dennis A. Binette

Assistant Curator, the Fall River Historical Society

(Editor's note: With this issue we begin the première publication of a seven-year series of letters between author Edmund L. Pearson and Prosecuting Attorney Hosea Knowlton's son, Frank W. Knowlton. The "Lizzie Borden Quarterly" extends its sincere appreciation to the Knowlton family who donated them to the Fall River Historical Society, and also to the Society itself, who graciously made them available to us and granted permission to print. In order to faithfully maintain their original flavor, we have preserved struck-out words and other minor corrections.)

"Dear Knowlton, - It is possible that you remember, but probable that you have forgotten one Edmund Pearson, who sat at your table in Memorial Hall, and used to talk with you about the Borden case." So begins the first letter in this collection sent from Edmund Lester Pearson to Frank W. Knowlton, the son of Hosea Morrill Knowlton, the prosecuting attorney at that famed murder trial. Interested in the study of crime for both its psychological and social aspects, Pearson had always been fascinated by the trial of Miss Lizzie A. Borden and wished to include an essay on the case in a volume he was preparing about American murders.

Edmund Lester Pearson was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, on February 11, 1880. He obtained his Bachelor of Arts from Harvard University in 1902, after which he left New

England for Albany, New York, where he studied library science. He obtained employment in that field at the Washington, D.C. Public Library. In 1914, he began working at the New York Public Library, an institution with which he was to remain for the next thirteen years. He later became employed as book reviewer for *The Outlook*, and from 1906 to 1920, also prepared the column "The Librarian" for the *Boston Evening Transcript*.

He began his correspondence with Frank W. Knowlton in 1923. It is interesting to note that, aside from *The Fall River Tragedy* by Edwin Porter and a couple of short essays, there was virtually no material available to Pearson on the subject. This is what prompted his first letter to Knowlton, one that would begin a correspondence between the two men that would last for several years. Pearson's fascination with his topic is evident from the very beginning, when he confides to Knowlton that it is "plain that Miss Borden is my *prima donna*."

The collection which follows describes how, through their pursuits, the two were able to uncover a considerable number of manuscripts, photographs and transcripts of testimony. The reader can see first-hand how Pearson persisted, with the assistance of Frank W. Knowlton, until he eventually managed to accumulate a vast body of material from which to draw as he prepared his work. A good portion of the documents referred to are currently part of the Borden archive at the Historical Society, some of which were published as *The Commonwealth of Massachusetts vs. Lizzie A. Borden: The Knowlton Papers 1892 - 1893*.

(Continued on next page)

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The letters in this volume span over seven years, a period during which the crime writer authored three volumes containing essays on the Borden case: *Studies in Murder* (1924), *Murder at Smutty Nose* (1927) and *Five Murders* (1928). His major work on the case, entitled *The Trial of Lizzie Borden*, was published in 1937 as the first in the series "Notable American Trials." It was the last of Pearson's work published in his lifetime; he died on August 8 of that year of bronchial pneumonia in New York City. He was buried in his native Newburyport.

The collection was presented to the Fall River Historical Society by Frank W. Knowlton, Jr., son of the man addressed in this volume.

Frank Warren Knowlton was born in New Bedford, Massachusetts on August 1, 1878. He obtained his early education in his native city and subsequently entered Tufts College, graduating from that institution in 1899. Following in his father's footsteps, he pursued a career in law, attending Harvard Law School and graduating cum laude in 1902. First employed by the firm of Ropes, Gray, Boyden and Perkins, in 1904, he became associated with Choate, Hall and Stewart. Entering the firm as a law clerk, he soon after joined the partnership. In Brookline, Massachusetts, on June 30, 1908, he married Isabelle Grady Riese. The two had three sons.

Active in town affairs in Weston, Massachusetts, where he settled with his family, he was a trustee of Tufts College. He also served as a member of the council of the Boston Bar Association. While appearing in a case before the Board of Tax Appeals in Boston, Massachusetts, in February of 1932, he was stricken with a heart attack. His death came the following month.

The correspondence in this volume will fascinate not only those interested in the Borden case but any individual who enjoys the investigative process. The Historical Society is pleased to make available this collection from its archive of Borden-related material.

Letter Number 1

Pearson to Knowlton

July 30, 1923

(This letter is reproduced on page 7.)

Dear Knowlton, -

It is possible that you remember, but probable that you have forgotten one Edmund Pearson, who sat at your table in Memorial Hall, and used to talk with you about the Borden case. I am that same man, and still interested in that case, -next to the trial of Professor Webster, it is Massachusetts' greatest murder case.

I am writing for The Macmillan Company, which publishes my books, a volume to contain some five or six essays of considerable length about certain extraordinary American murder trials or cases. One of them is finished; on another, the trials of Thomas Bram in Boston, I am now working, and have access to the stenographic reports of both trials, thanks to Mr. Asa French and Mr. Boyd Jones, who were on opposite sides in the second trial. Newspaper reports are not sufficient for my purpose, as I am trying to give a more correct account than they furnish. In short, I am trying to do what is done by British writers on those subjects: to give an authoritative brief history of each case, not

deal with them as the average writer for the Sunday newspaper would do. When I say brief, I do not mean a mere sketch; the essays will run to about ten to twelve thousand words apiece, but they are not, of course, complete reports of the trials. I have the only book, so far as I know, ever published on the Borden case; it is by Porter of the Fall River Globe, it is out of print and scarce. I have heard that the Borden estate bought it up and suppressed it, as far as possible. I am also planning to go to Fall River to learn what I can there.

What I wish, of course, is to get reports of the testimony and arguments in the preliminary hearing at Fall River, as well as in the trial itself. If it is possible, and if you feel willing to do this, will you lend me for my use here in New York, such ~~records~~ reports as belong to your Father's estate from his participation in these trials? If this is not possible, or agreeable to you in any way, can you put me in the way of obtaining the records elsewhere? The case must go in the book; its peculiar nature, the interest it aroused then still exists, I find, in many quarters; the distinguished counsel engaged; the peculiar rulings of the court; all these make it plain that Miss Borden is my prima donna.

I may add that I am a writer of ~~some~~ ten years of experience, with some knowledge of how to work with material like this, and that I am also a librarian (Editor of Publications at this Library) and hence a safe man to be trusted with valuable books. All this is to lead you to take judicial notice of the fact that I am not a yellow journalist.

Any information which you can give me re the Bordens will be most gratefully received. And your Petitioner will ever pray.

Faithfully yours,
Edmund Lester Pearson

Letter Number 2

Knowlton to Pearson

August 1, 1923

My dear Pearson:

I do remember you and pleasant companionship of our table in Memorial Hall. I am very glad to have your letter.

I should be very glad to see an adequate essay treating the Borden case. It was a remarkable case and ought to be adequately reviewed. I have been to the Attorney General's office at the State House here in Boston and I find that they have there the complete stenographic report of the trial, with all the arguments on the incidental questions of law. These typewritten reports are bound in two volumes of considerable size, the whole comprising, I should say, about fifteen or sixteen hundred pages. I talked with Mr. Louis Freeze, Chief Clerk at the office, and as far as he knows it is the only copy extant. He feels some hesitation in lending it to me or any individual. He will, if you are in Boston, readily make it available to you, or if it would better serve your purpose, he tells me that he would be willing to send it to the New York Public Library, entrusting it to the care and custody of the Library so that it would be available for your use. I should rather gather that that would be satisfactory to you.

Incidentally I called up the State Library at the State House and the Social Law Library, at the Court House, to see whether they had any publications that might interest you. I find that they both have Porter's book which you have, and they also have a

pamphlet of some forty-seven pages published in Boston in 1894 by Judge Charles G. Davis entitled "Conduct of the Law in the Borden Case with Suggestion of Changes in Criminal Law and Practice." This might be interesting to you, if you come on, or perhaps I can induce one of these libraries to send it to the New York Public Library. They looked up in the index to periodicals at the State Library and tell me that in the 27th volume of the American Law Review, at page 819, there is an article by J. H. Wigmore entitled "Borden Case."

I am somewhat in doubt about the report of the testimony and arguments in the preliminary hearing at Fall River. I have written to New Bedford and to Fall River to see if I can locate a copy, without any sanguine hope of success. Unfortunately, my father never kept any private files of his official cases, but left all the files, records, reports of testimony and everything in the custody of his successors in office, and I have written to the present District Attorney for the Southern District to learn whether he has in his files a copy of the inquest testimony. I will later let you know what I hear from these sources.

Somewhere at home I am quite sure that I have the original photographs which were used as exhibits at the trial of the case. They are gruesome affairs, showing the bodies of Andrew Borden and of his wife, as they were discovered with all their terrible hatchet wounds, taken rather inartistically and somewhat poorly focused so as to make them even more grotesque than they need be. How I got them I do not know, and I haven't seen them for a few years, but I think I know where they are at home, and if you would like to have them to use or to refer to as you read the testimony, I should be very glad to lend them to you.

Let me know if you would like to have these matters sent on to you at the New York Library by the Attorney General's office, or one of the libraries I mentioned, and I will arrange it.

It was a remarkable trial. All of the counsel on both sides are now dead. All of the judges who presided at the case, there were three in number, are dead. The old sheriff in whose care she was has died and almost the only characters now living who had important parts are Lizzie Borden and her sister, Emma Borden. You may be perhaps interested to know that within a few months Lizzie Borden has launched litigation against her sister, Emma, seeking a partition of the real estate left by her father. This litigation was undoubtedly brought about by a disagreement between them.

There are a great many stories of Lizzie Borden going about, and perhaps the old police officers in Fall River can tell you quite a bit about her. She has lived comparatively quietly, except for the incidents of which the police would know, and except for one rather curious thing. About ten or fifteen years ago there was much in vogue around these parts an emotional tragedienne called Nance O'Neil, who played in heartrending melodramas and who was supposed to be about the most intensely emotional actress at that time. Lizzie Borden apparently formed a tremendous admiration for Nance O'Neil, and when Nance O'Neil was involved in litigation with her managers and creditors, which resulted in extended hearings in the equity session at the court at Boston, Lizzie Borden emerged from her retirement and became an almost daily spectator at the trial. I mention this simply as throwing some light on the probability that beneath her traditional cool and stolid Yankee exterior she seems to have had quite a depth of emotional power.

If you go to Fall River do not fail to see John W. Cummings, one of the older lawyers there, who was a great friend and confidant of my fathers and advised with him a great deal. He perhaps can give you more help there than anybody else, although I daresay Milton Reed of that city also could give you a great deal of the contemporaneous atmosphere. Judge Braley of our Supreme Court could doubtless tell you some things of interest, as he was, I think, at that time a practicing lawyer in Fall River.

I wonder if you have ever considered what I have always been lead to believe was one of our outstanding capital cases of Massachusetts, the case of Commonwealth v. Knapp, a case in which John Francis Knapp, Joseph Jenkins Knapp, George Crowninshield and Richard Crowninshield were indicted for the murder of Joseph White of Salem, and in which one of the alleged principals, Richard Crowninshield, committed suicide before the trial. This case is reported in 9 Pickering, 496 and 10 Pickering, 477. It was a case of such tremendous public interest at that time that Daniel Webster, although not holding office, was obtained to assist the Attorney General in prosecuting the case, and he obtained the convictions of the persons charged. I have always believed that that case was in the matter of public interest, particularly for days when there were no general newspaper reports, a case which aroused the Commonwealth perhaps more than any other case has before, or with one or two exceptions, since. As the murder was committed nearly one hundred years ago, it may be hard to get much contemporaneous material. I should rather suppose that the Law Libraries here would have a good deal upon the subject, as at that time there were a great many pamphlets published and sold which purported to give all the testimony.

With best regards, and hoping to see you if you come on this way, I am

Very truly yours,

FWK:ED

Letter Number 3

Knowlton to Otis S. Cook, Esq.

July 31, 1923

Otis S. Cook, Esq.

Box 323,

Nantucket, Mass.

Dear Otis:

Do you know whether in the New Bedford Office there are any papers left referring to the old Lizzie Borden case? There is an author friend of mine who is working on a volume of essays about famous cases and he has asked my help about this case and is very anxious to obtain the stenographic report of the testimony and arguments at the preliminary hearing, the inquest. I hardly know where to put my hand on it for him and it occurred to me that possibly it might be still in the New Bedford office.

Yours very truly,

FWK:ED

(Continued on next page)

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Letter Number 4

Knowlton to Michael J. Orpen, Esq.
August 1, 1923

Michael J. Orpen, Esq.,
Clerk, Second District Court of Bristol,
Fall River, Massachusetts.

Dear Mr. Orpen:

An author friend of mine is preparing an essay to be published by Macmillan on the famous Borden case. He has been writing to me for material and he is very anxious to see the testimony and arguments at the inquest. You may perhaps know or recall that Lizzie Borden's testimony at the inquest was offered in the trial in the Superior Court and occasioned a famous legal controversy. I haven't any idea where to tell him that this can be found, unless it is filed in the records of your court where the inquest was held.

I should be very glad, if it is not troubling you too much, to have you tell me whether it is filed away there, so that I can write to Mr. Pearson in New York, and if it is there he undoubtedly would like to come on to Fall River and inspect it. Any help that you may be able to give me, I should be very grateful for.

Yours very truly,

FWK:ED

Letter Number 5

Knowlton to Stanley P. Hall, Esq.
August 1, 1923

Stanley P. Hall, Esq.,
District Attorney, Southern District,
Taunton, Massachusetts.

My dear Stanley:

At the trial of the case of Commonwealth v. Lizzie A. Borden, in 1893, a considerable controversy was waged at the time over the admissibility of testimony offered by Lizzie Borden at the inquest before the District Court at Fall River. A New York friend of mine, an author, is preparing an essay on this case and is very anxious to see the report of the testimony and arguments at the inquest. I have made it possible for him to see the report of the trial in the Superior Court, but he would like to inspect the testimony at the inquest and the arguments there. I haven't any idea where it would be, but it occurred to me that perhaps in the files of the District Attorney's office there would be some papers on this famous case, and that perhaps in those files would be the material that he would like to see.

I am sorry to trouble you about the matter, but if you could at your convenience tell me whether or not there are extant any of the original files of this case in the District Attorney's office, I should be very glad to inform my friend in New York and he doubtless, if you are willing, would come on from New York to see them in connection with the preparation of his work.

With best regards, I am

Yours very truly,

FWK:ED

Letter Number 6

Pearson to Knowlton
August 3, 1923

My dear Knowlton, -

I am indeed grateful for your long and interesting letter, for the offers you make of help in getting me information, and for the trouble you have already taken.

The offer of Mr. Freeze to send the report of the trial to the Library here, for my use, is quite satisfactory. It had better not come yet, however, as I suppose there is a limit to the time they would like to have it absent, and I shall not need it until I get back from a vacation. I am going away about the 13th, to be back around the 1st of September. Then I will write to him, or have the Library do so, and make the arrangements.

The pamphlet by Judge Davis is new to me, and it is possible that I can see it in the Bar Association Library here. I will find out.

The article by Dean Wigmore on the Borden Case I have already seen, and made notes from. That is a valuable one to me, as it contains the frank comments and criticisms of a lawyer upon the Court's exclusion of testimony, and almost amounts to saying that the trial resulted in a miscarriage of justice. I believe it did, but would rather have these criticisms come from a lawyer. I am on rather delicate ground in dealing with this case, since it resulted in an acquittal, and the accused still lives. But I read, in a Boston paper, about 1912, an article which said that the Fall River Globe had published annually, on the anniversary of the murder (which was August 4th-- , by the way) articles pointing strongly at "the poor girl", - as some people called her. I think that Bobby Dean wrote me that the Globe ceased this after Porter's death.

It is especially kind of you to try to get the report of the hearing at Fall River. That was extraordinarily long - three or four days - about all of the counsel who were at the final trial were present (except Governor Robinson, - and, I guess, W.H. Moody) and she testified herself. If you do not get it, I shall have to rely on Porter, who is fairly full here, but of course not absolutely reliable for accuracy. He took an enormous interest in the case, and was apparently astounded and almost crushed at the final decision.

If you find the photographs you mention, and care to lend them to me, I would like to have them for my own consultation. They would be too gruesome for reproduction in my book, I am certain, but I might wish to have them copied by the photostat man here in the library, and keep them among my memoranda of the case, and of other cases. But I will not do even this, if you object. I will be glad to see them, however. I recall a rather ghastly story you once told me, concerning, I think, the skulls of that poor old couple.

I have clippings from the Boston papers about Miss Borden's recent litigation. I tried to run down, last summer, a rumor I had heard of her marriage, but could find nothing definite until the newspapers discussed this law-suit, and spoke of her as still unmarried. I have ~~had~~ heard one or two strange stories of her, but the Nance O'Neil one is new to me, and most interesting. I have heard that she used, in Boston, to stay at the Bellevue, which was formerly a favorite of mine.

Thanks also for the mention of people in Fall River who might be willing to give me information. I shall go over there in September or October, as I wish to see the house, if it is standing, and any other places connected with the event, as well as to talk with various folk. There is a druggist named, I think, Eli Bence, whom I wish to see; the jurymen all come from other towns, and probably few of them are alive today.

I have thought a little of the White murder in Salem, and have friends there who have urged it upon me. I had thought that perhaps it had been written up too much (like the Parkman case) but I am not sure that the present generation knows much about it. I must beware of too much New England in my book. My present cases are the Nathan murder in New York in 1870; the two trials of Bram before a U.S. Circuit Court in Boston, for the murders on the barkentine Herbert Fuller (you will remember this, in 1896 - 98) in which I fortunately found the chief government witness living on the next street to me in New York; and an old New York State case the Boorn murder. I may also take up a Kansas case, and had thought of two other New England cases - the Tucker and the Mrs. Rogers, because of the extraordinary popular agitation for commutation of sentence. They both present difficulties; in fact difficulties bristle everywhere, in making choice of subjects.

It is rather a strange thing to get a respectable American publishing house to agree to such a book, anyway. The topic is usually treated, in this country, merely in a sensational manner. If you are familiar with the Notable British Trials series, and have read the introductions to some of the best of those (Burke and Hare, and George Joseph Smith, for examples) you will know what I am trying to do, - without, of course, printing the complete report of the trial.

I can still remember, vividly, the afternoon (thirty years ago ~~tomorrow~~ last June - sorrow and alas!) when I saw put out on a small blackboard at the door of the Newburyport Herald, the legend:

Lizzie Borden Not Guilty.

I hope to be in Newburyport and Boston before cold weather comes, and shall certainly try to come in long enough to thank you personally.

Sincerely yours,
Edmund L. Pearson

Letter Number 7

Michael J. Orpen to Knowlton
August 4, 1923

Frank W. Knowlton, Esq.,
30 State Street
Boston, Mass.

Dear Mr. Knowlton:

I have examined the old documents in the Clerk's Office and find no trace of inquest of Lizzie Borden.

Under the law the Magistrate sitting at the inquest, files his findings with the Clerk of the Superior Court. I might suggest that the testimony of Lizzie Borden at the inquest may be filed in the archives of District Attorney, as I understand it was offered at the trial at Superior Court, said trial being conducted by none

other than the Honorable Hosea M. Knowlton himself.

If your friend cares to come to Fall River, he may search the records of the different newspapers at the Library. I understand they have an extended report of the proceedings in the Borden Murder Case.

I remember reading the history of the Borden Murder in a book published by one "Porter" who was a reporter at that time. Seems to me I borrowed the same from the chief of Police of Fall River, (Martin Feeney) and I suggest that you write to him for the loan of the same, I think he would gladly comply with your request, as I have talked the matter with him.

Very truly yours,
Michael J. Orpen, Clerk

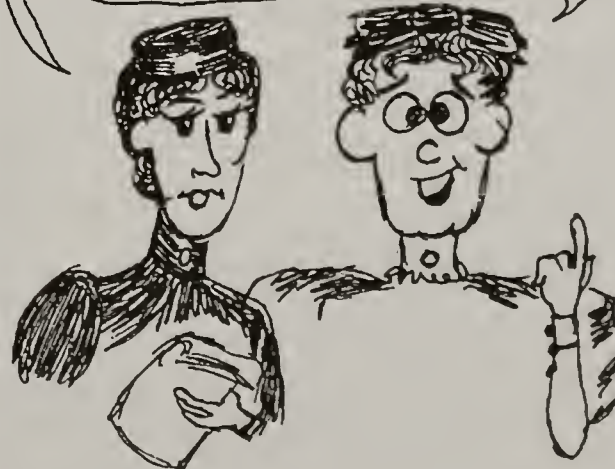
MJO/ACO

(Editor's note: Unfortunately, space dictates available printing, and that capacity has been exhausted for this issue. The good news is that there are many, many more letters to come. I found it most interesting that Mr. Pearson had not known about Miss Lizbeth's friendship with Nance O'Neil until receiving the first letter from Mr. Knowlton. It would also appear that a hardened bias was in place prior to writing a word about the case. In addition, both gentlemen did not have access to the preliminary trial transcript, which today is available to all and can be purchased at the Fall River Historical Society. This remarkable cache of letters will be continued in the next issue!)

PRINCESS MAPLECROFT

LAST NIGHT I READ THAT THOSE WHO TALK TO THEMSELVES ARE LESS LIKELY TO BE VIOLENT OR MURDER.

YOU KNOW, EMMA, I SAID THAT VERY THING TO MYSELF OVER AND OVER LAST NIGHT WHILE I WAS ALL ALONE IN MY CELL.

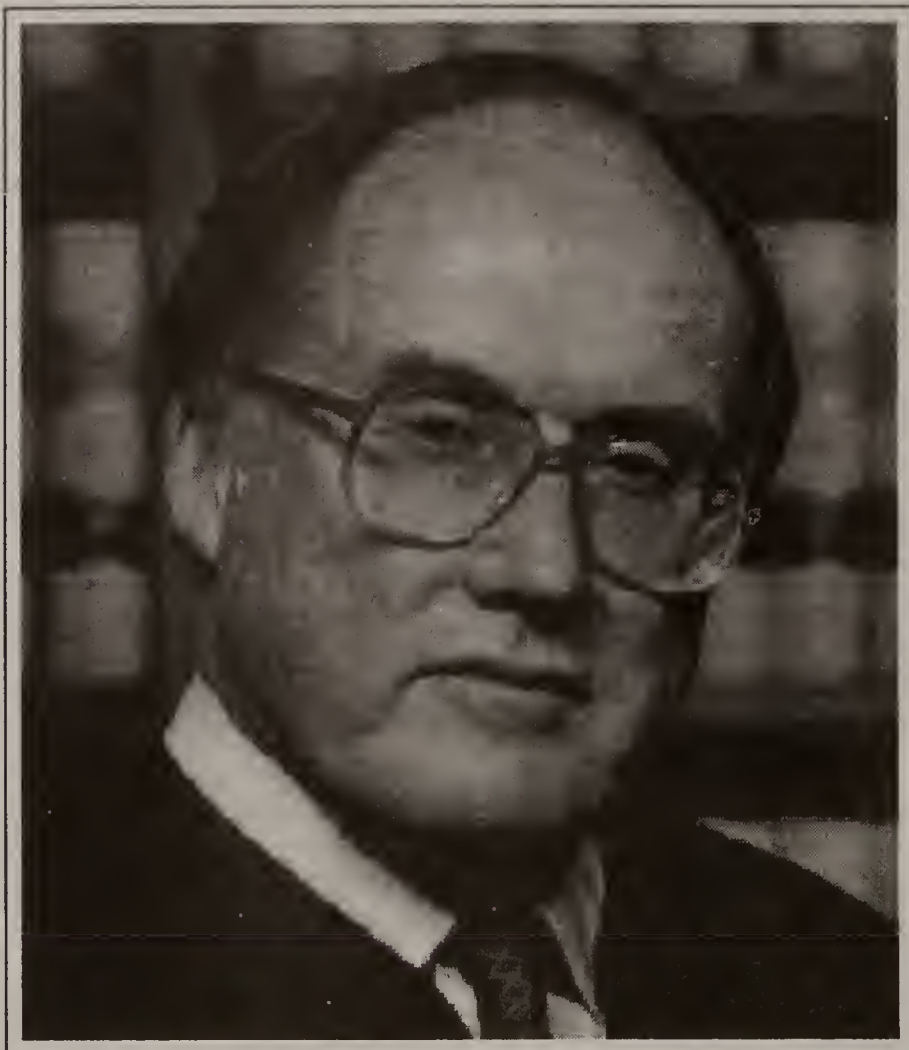


MC 94

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Could it be? A Second Borden Murder Trial!

Not only that ... But ... With the Chief Justice of the United States!



William Hubbs Rehnquist
Chief Justice United States Supreme Court

By Maynard F. Bertolet

The retrial of any famous murder case by an ivy-league law-school must be considered as almost unique. But, when the event is staged with the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court presiding, along with an Associate Justice from that same supreme institution, it is, simply put, unprecedented!

The event took place about the time this issue of the *Lizzie Borden Quarterly* went to press. Stanford Law School Dean Paul Brest and the Faculty arranged a celebration at 5:00 P.M. on Tuesday, September 16, 1997 for the Judge John Crown Professorship in Law and the installation of Barbara Allen Babcock as the inaugural Crown Professor. The evening's festivities featured a retrial of the Lizzie Borden Murder case, narrated by Professor of Law Kathleen M. Sullivan. On the bench were The Honorable William H. Rehnquist, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Associate Justice Sandra Day O'Connor.

Insofar as the *Lizzie Borden Quarterly* is concerned, the best is yet to come. Our Publisher, Jules Ryckebusch, was invited to attend the event, and sit on the jury as well! Unfortunately, due to our publishing deadlines, we are not able to report to you in this issue. However, be not dismayed, Jules has promised to tell us all about it next time. See you then!

Stanford Law School

NO. 7

*** STANFORD, SEPTEMBER 16, 1997 ***

PRICE: FREE

LIZZIE BORDEN ON TRIAL

A DRAMATIZATION IN CELEBRATION OF THE
JUDGE JOHN CROWN PROFESSORSHIP IN LAW

BARBARA ALLEN BABCOCK TO BE INSTALLED
AS CROWN PROFESSOR

On the bench

HON. WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST, AB '48, AM '48, LLB '52
Chief Justice of the United States

and

HON. SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR, AB '50, LLB '52
Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States

Tuesday, September 16, 1997 from 5:00 to 6:30 p.m.
Reception following the performance

STANFORD, Calif. Please join Dean Paul Brest and the faculty of Stanford Law School for a celebration of the Judge John Crown Professorship in Law and the installation of Barbara Allen Babcock as the inaugural Crown Professor. The evening will feature a retrial of the famous Lizzie Borden murder case narrated by KATHLEEN M. SULLIVAN, Stanley Morrison Professor of Law at Stanford. CHARLES J. OGLETREE, JR., AB '74, AM '75, Professor of Law at Harvard and member of Stanford's Board of Trustees, will represent the prosecution. BARBARA ALLEN BABCOCK, Judge John Crown Professor of Law at Stanford, will represent the defense. The audience is the jury.

The trial, cosponsored by the San Francisco and Silicon Valley Law Societies, will take place in Dinkelspiel Auditorium, Stanford University. You, the jury, must answer this summons by September 2. (Doors open at 4:15 p.m. Ticket order form enclosed.)

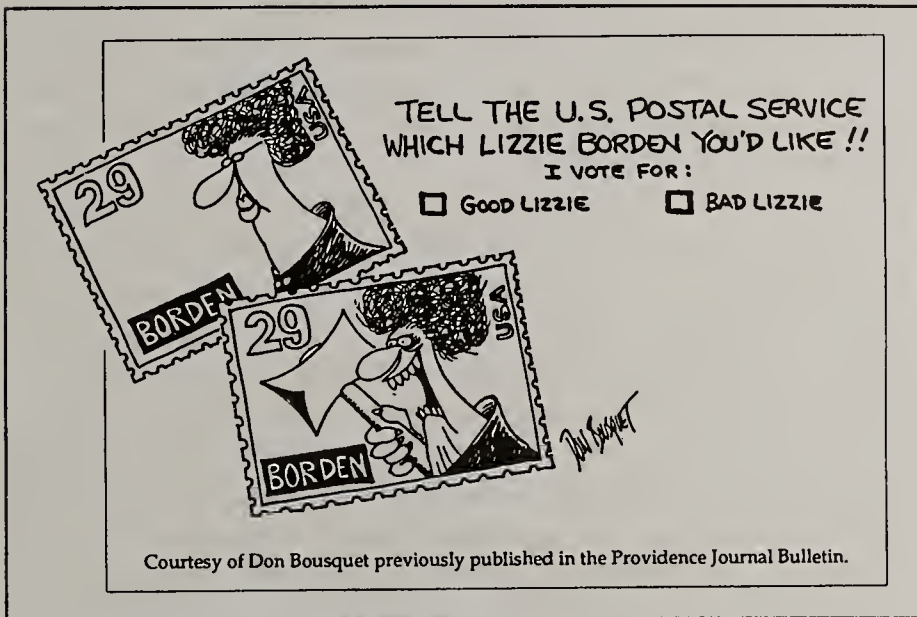


Sandra Day O'Connor
Associate Justice United States Supreme Court

Edmund Pearson and the Transformation ...

(Continued from Page 1)

recognized as "a pioneer book in its field, at least in the United States," with a "literary distinction" lacking in other books of the genre. He is credited with introducing "the then still-living Lizzie Borden to a new generation" (Walbridge). The Borden case is the subject of the first chapter, which is by far the longest. In 1938, the book was included in the Modern Library series. *The Trial of Lizzie Borden* became the first volume of the Notable American Trials series ("Pearson, Edmund Lester"). The other books fed the interest he had created in Lizzie, as well as carrying on in a genre that proved so successful for him.



Media audiences, especially those of the past, are difficult to study, and we cannot arrive at definite numbers in the case of Pearson's readership. However, one way to measure popularity is to check old volumes of *Book Review Digest*. A widely-reviewed book is likely to have a large distribution and readership. And a book reviewed in a standard library journal such as *Booklist* (as four are), stands to be purchased by many public libraries. *Studies in Murder* was reviewed in at least nineteen publications, including *Saturday Review*, *New Statesman*, and a host of newspapers, from the *New York Times* to papers in Boston, Cleveland, Greensboro, St. Louis, and Springfield. *Five Murders* got at least nine reviews, and the others were well-covered also. This is significant. Critics judged his books favorably, but we can also conclude that the public consumed these works in large numbers.

This is hardly surprising. For one thing, true-crime stories seem to have a perennial appeal. Although the true-crime story is generally regarded as a distinct genre, a case can be made that it has strong links to, and could be viewed as sub-genre of biography. After all, true-crime stories are fact-based narratives about individuals' lives. In Lizzie's case, these true-crime narratives are the only existing biographical works about her. As we examine the role they played in criminalizing her in American popular culture, we must look more closely at the genre itself. Biography involves much more than the narrative of someone's life. It is a literary form, and as such provokes a variety of viewpoints and theories. Rob Wilson neatly summarizes the major function of biography in the West as the production of "the myth of coherent personality." The subject's life is faithfully recorded by the biographer as a journey toward "coherent unity, striking person-

ality [an unfortunate pun when applied to Lizzie], and expressive selfhood" (Epstein, page 167). These are obviously the words of a professional critic. In recent years, academics have given considerable attention to this genre. Traditional views have been revisited and challenged. All the while, general readers have been buying biographies, seemingly undisturbed by the debate or the gap between them and the scholars, in terms of expectations about biography and epistemology. As Sharon O'Brien recognizes, most readers expect a biography to tell the "truth" about the subject, to avoid interpretive frameworks, and to uncover the story that already exists (pages 123-4). However, developments in contemporary theory have led many critics to question not only the concept of the self "as a unified, knowable, and recoverable entity," but also the transparency of language, and even "the explanatory power of narrative" (page 123). This may all seem like tedious crit-speak, but the issues raised are important. O'Brien, for example, points out the contradictory strains in traditional theory, where the subject's essence is conveyed, but in the form of a story, using novelistic techniques. The biographer looks to realism as a model, and the "assumptions about biography accord with those made by the readers and writers of realistic fiction." Language is seen as a reliable method of representation, the chronological plot works to order reality, and the author is a narrator who can be trusted (pages 124-5). In other words, this form of biography (still dominant in the popular sphere) is not something which naturally occurs, but is the result of a particular set of beliefs about the world. I suspect that many readers would, after considering these points, agree that realism is not "real," and while biography can be a responsible treatment of a life, it cannot recapture it with exactitude or present it without artifice.

The boundaries between biography and fiction are sometimes shaky. As we focus on Pearson's work, we would do well to keep this in mind. By their very nature, his books make a claim to truth, which closer examination frequently shows to be groundless. He attempts to present a unified subject, but this, interestingly, unravels. The authoritative, disinterested posture he strikes is just that. In actuality, his well-written narratives are rewritings and reinventions of Lizzie that are highly effective but far removed from the historical figure, who is lost to us.

It is not just through general novelistic techniques that Lizzie is created. More specifically, we can trace the influence of the detective story. Biography shares some features of the detective story, which attempts to solve the murder in the face of skewed records and much unreliability in the appearances of the case, and all of these details are already coming from a particular cultural formation. We have victims, suspects, police and prosecutors playing out the drama. The standard formula enables "the audience to explore in fantasy the boundary between the permitted and the forbidden and to experience in a carefully controlled way the possibility of stepping across this boundary" (Cawelti, page 35). In nineteenth-century America, "the focal point of conceptions of morality and social authority was the domestic circle." Actual accounts and stories of murders of relatives became extremely popular. In the 1920s and '30s the gangster hero became a more popular form (page 77). Pearson's roots are in the 19th century, and it seems clear that there was still a residual interest in these domestic murders a few decades on. I don't think it has ever faded away.

(Continued on next page)

Cawelti states that "the connection between the highly formalized and ordered character of the classical detective formula and its concentration on crime within the family circle can be seen ... as a response to certain cultural tensions of the late 19th and early 20th centuries." Social change provoked doubt and guilt. "For those committed to middle-class values of individual achievement and the ideal family, and yet dissatisfied by the restrictions of the family circle, the classical detective story offered a temporary release from doubt." It made crime seem "strictly a matter of individual motivations and thus reaffirmed the validity of the existing social order." Also, by making crime a puzzle, and using "a highly formalized set of literary conventions," a serious moral problem became "an entertaining pastime" (page 104-5). While Pearson's treatments of the Borden case are true-crime narratives and not classical detective stories, they partake of the characteristics of the form. Cawelti's observations throw considerable light on Pearson's handling of the narratives, and suggest reasons for his success.

The genre that served him so well, the true-crime story, also sets up certain expectations. For one thing, even though there was a chance that Lizzie was innocent, Pearson could not pursue this point effectively unless there was another likely suspect he could focus on. There was not; it appears that she must have done it, and he needs her to be guilty so that, in a practical sense, he has all the elements of his story.

Before we examine the story and its development, it is useful to consider Pearson's rather peculiar "relationship" to Lizzie. He begins *Five Murders* with a letter to William Roughead (also a crime writer), which has the tone of a dedication. Here he refers to his interest in murder being stirred in boyhood by the Borden case. Born in 1880, young Edmund would have been twelve years old in that thrilling summer of 1892, as Newburyport, Massachusetts buzzed with the news of the slaughter. But he went much further than most curious citizens, and seems to have become quite attached to Lizzie, to at least his idea of her. He calls her "that Lady of Fall River, toward whom you have expressed devotion." Pearson's devotion was no less. Toward the end of his life, he refers to her in a letter as "my beloved Lizzie" (Williams, page 269). This may simply be his characteristic irony at work. A cynic might say he has reason to love the woman who helped him win great popularity as an author, but I suspect there is more going on.

A fondness for Lizzie is not unusual among some avid students of the case. However, Pearson's zeal seems almost religious, and is fraught with contradictions. He frequently expresses indignation that Lizzie's defenders saw her as a victim and ignored the grievous wrong done to her parents. Convinced of her guilt, he argues persuasively that she got away with murder, and he does this repeatedly. By the same token, Pearson openly shows deep admiration for the very qualities that made the murders possible. To him the crime is unique because of the murderer's "iron courage" (*Five Murders*, page 287). He also makes reference to her "extraordinary audacity" (*Studies*, page 28). These are not traits usually associated with 19th century ladies, and in fact would seem more characteristic of men, and only "heroic" men at that. While admiration may at first seem inappropriate, Wendy Lesser reminds us that "an interest in

murder crucially involves the admiration of craft," of both murderer and detectives (page 14).

Pearson's attitude toward Lizzie is complex and conflicted. He was a man obsessed, a condition necessary for the persistence required to turn an all-but-forgotten murder case into an American legend. I suspect that his ambivalence, his horror and admiration, contribute to his success with readers. In his work we see a tension between the discourses of true womanhood, which deemed ladies incapable of murder, and the crime narrative, where a case is constructed, solved, and the vast legal system proceeds inexorably to convict and punish the evildoer, restoring the moral order. Lizzie may have eluded both justice and the public, but Pearson, in reclaiming her, restores a sense of control. He revived her story when it was nearly forgotten, and laid out the life, character, and motives of this reclusive woman for popular consumption, amusement, and edification. This would seem to give both him and the audience a sense of power over a story marked by chaos.

In *Studies in Murder*, he states that "Miss Borden's name means little today to those who do not remember the year of her trial" (page 68), giving the author an opportunity to shape and create meaning and memory for this group of readers. His rhetoric is expansive, insisting the "case is without parallel in the criminal history of America," and "most interesting" and "most puzzling" (page 3). This is quite a buildup, already suggesting a scene and characters larger than life. At first he seems to avoid taking a stand on the issue of guilt, but as he goes on to describe Lizzie and the trial, his objective tone fades and becomes ambiguous. He goes on to quote Lizzie's uncle, Hiram Harrington, whose scathing comments about Lizzie first appeared in a newspaper interview. Hiram's dislike of Lizzie is palpable. His niece is "haughty and domineering with the stubborn will of her father." She is "deeply resentful," and wanted to live in a style reflecting Andrew's wealth, so there were "constant disputes" over money. She is "sulky," with a "repellent disposition" (pages 40-3). His credibility is dubious, but these remarks resonate, and have strongly influenced Lizzie's public image. Pearson chose to include them, and chose not to seek out other opinions of Lizzie's character. Later researchers found contemporaries who testified that she was a kind and generous woman, qualities Pearson omits from his portrait of her. In this first book, published during Lizzie's lifetime, he emphasizes the open-ended nature of the mystery. He ends with a list of unanswered questions about the case, asking, "Will the whole truth ever come out?" Pearson has successfully created an arena where the public's imagination, fascination with evil and money, and anticipation of new and exciting revelations can freely play. He is creating a desire for information where none previously existed, and proceeds to feed it.

Three years later, in *Murder at Smutty Nose and Other Murders*, he inserted a short chapter near the end titled, "The Bordens: A Postscript." In it he refers to his earlier book and quotes from it, calling the case "the most interesting, and perhaps the most puzzling murder which has occurred in this country" (page 291). This is a good example of an author training his audience to think in terms of an evolving legend. Looked at dispassionately, there is very little to support the claim that this crime was puzzling.

Pearson's primary purpose is to keep interest in the case

alive, since he does not reveal any startling developments. Rather, he shares with readers evidence that interest in the case remains strong after 33 years, drawing them into the growing group of Borden fans. He also quotes from a 1913 article by Gertrude Stevenson, which appeared in the *Boston Sunday Herald* and *Fall River Daily Globe*. It depicts Lizzie as "an outcast ... a social pariah," regarded with contempt even by those who initially supported her. Pearson disagrees, saying she is not a "complete recluse."

But again, the words used to describe her paint an unflattering portrait -- "stolid, immobile, unemotional-appearing woman," "large strong features," "determination," "firm-mouthed." One might think such a person capable of murder. But he assures us the picture is incomplete, because many puzzles remain, and "lie deep in that mysterious region, the human heart" (page 302). By ending on this note, he not only provides an acceptable reason for popular interest in a murderer, but leaves the way open for sequels.

The following year saw the publication of *Five Murders; With a Final Note on the Borden Case*. The note is in the form of a postscript titled, "The End of the Borden Case." The only new information is the news of Lizzie's death in June, 1927. Pearson makes the rather extravagant claim that she was "the strangest and most enigmatic person in America" (page 266). Now that she's dead, let the legend-building begin! He rehashes the murders and repeats Hiram Harrington's hostile remarks about Lizzie. Then he tells a couple of anecdotes, both involving axes, neither credible, and refers to them as "legends." To show Lizzie's far-flung fame, he tells of seeing the famous verse printed in a newspaper in Durban, Natal. One should keep in mind that at this time Pearson's books are the only ones widely available on the case, and he probably feels the responsibility of perpetuating the story, as well as an interest in the financial benefits of selling many books. In a footnote, he mentions that the only book entirely on the case (by Porter) is out of print (page 291).

Many people familiar with the case have taken strong positions regarding Lizzie's guilt or innocence, and view it as a puzzle they have solved. But Pearson, who in no uncertain terms has repeatedly stated his belief in her guilt, is transforming this story. He claims "her character becomes a mystery" (page 291). He ends with a recreation of the murder scene, inviting the reader to participate, and judge her guilt (pages 290-1). With help from Pearson, Lizzie moves into the realm of fantasy.

Contrary to the claim in his subtitle, this was not the final note on the case. *More Studies in Murder* contains a chapter titled, "Legends of Lizzie." This piece first appeared in the *New Yorker* (Radin, page 171), providing Pearson with an even wider readership. He opens on a humorous note, stating that he considered leaving Lizzie out but gave it up because "of all the curious gallery of folk whose adventures I have investigated, [she] seems to have the widest attraction." He says that people still send him news of Lizzie "in song or story," and "her devotees are many and various." His purpose here is to pass along some of their stories, clearly a movement away from the biographer's careful use of sources. Yet Pearson prints them because the "fictional" Lizzie is different from the "actual Lizzie Borden of history," and he wishes to be the "standard of truth" against whom biographies must be measured. Pearson is trying

to maintain control of his subject, but also contributes to the myth making.

His "real" Lizzie is superficial -- "plump and complacent," fond of cooking and sentimental novels and art galleries. These commonplace interests make her "one of us." Yet most people in town "believe that this gentle lady chopped her stepmother's head to bits ..." And he describes Lizzie as a schoolgirl, her "face rather heavy... a little menacing." This is part of Pearson's distinction between "real" Lizzie and legend, but they merge here.

Among the legends he relates: Lizzie committed the murders in the nude to avoid staining her clothing. An invalid who Lizzie visited in Fall River was found strangled. Before the murders, Lizzie wrote to friends about a nice, new axe. After the trial, she visited friends on a farm. One pointed to a rotting old shed and said she would have someone pull it down. Lizzie enthusiastically offered to do the job, and requested an axe.

These are of course largely silly, and Pearson must know it. But narrative enhancements and mythologizing serve several functions. They reward his faithful readers (clearly "fans"), who can feel that their interest in this case is justified; and they reinforce a group identity for students of the Borden case. They also attract new members of the fellowship.

Pearson's lifelong obsession ends with the final book, *The Trial of Lizzie Borden*, only because his life ends. The main part of this work consists of selections from the trial transcript. Pearson also presents a slightly condensed version of Lizzie's inquest testimony, which is the only time she ever testified in the case. Some have accused him of using only the most incriminating extracts from the transcript. Also he dedicates this book to Hosea Knowlton, "a courageous public official," and the prosecutor in the case. No evenhanded treatment for Lizzie here. He notes that the "deaths were shrewdly planned" (page 37), something he could not possibly know. He is also quite hostile to Lizzie's defenders, the "two clerical busybodies" (page 40) and the women -- "unintelligent feminists" and "sob sisters" who took her part (page 41). A connoisseur of murder, Pearson offers the opinion that "many of the best murders are committed ... for ... avarice" (page 44) implying this was Lizzie's motive. Although she was acquitted, he finds it a peculiarity of the case that "the verdict was never considered a satisfactory conclusion" (page 59). Statements like this are typical of Pearson. As it happens, a great many people were quite satisfied, and many in Fall River wanted nothing more than to see the case sink into oblivion. The unsatisfied party is clearly Mr. Pearson who, convinced of her guilt, to the end paradoxically presents the case as an insoluble mystery. Like Lizzie, he gets away with it.

Having criminalized Lizzie, he also needs to give her stature that extends beyond her identity as a small-town spinster, and does this through literary allusion. Lizzie becomes Lady Macbeth, "all the perfumes of Arabia were not needed to sweeten that little hand" (page 90). She is also compared to Cassandra. The jurors contemplate the victims' skulls "like Hamlet in the churchyard" (page 93). This is now a story with the trappings of world-class myth and tragedy. And so, thanks in part to the devotion of Pearson and his publishers, a dull New England spinster becomes a legendary figure in American popular culture.

(Continued on next page)

The Fall River Historical Society

451 Rock Street

Fall River, MA 02720-3344

Telephone (508) 679-1071

We are now accepting prepaid orders for:

Residence of Andrew J. Borden

Number 4 in the series of limited edition

Fall River Landmark Plates!

Each Borden Residence Plate is \$ 22.95

Shipping and Handling is \$ 3.50

Easel to hold plate is \$ 2.00



This plate is in the same sepia tone on white porcelain as the previously issued plates in this series, the Steamship Priscilla and the Old City Hall. The plate is 6¾" in diameter with a rococo-style border edged in gilt.

The residence of Andrew J. Borden was the site of the 1892 murders of Mr. and Mrs. Borden. The plate features a reproduction of a pen and ink drawing of the Second Street house ca.1892 and an inset reproduction of a Lizzie A. Borden photograph, both from the collection of the Fall River Historical Society. The front design and the documentation and serial number on the reverse are high fired on the porcelain plate for a permanent application. Plate numbers will be issued consecutively in the order that prepaid reservations are received.

THIS EDITION IS LIMITED TO 250 PLATES

(Continued from previous page)

Pearson's Lizzie is conflicted and elusive. She is a cold-blooded, brilliant killer, and a gentle spinster. She is a solidly respectable lady, thoroughly conventional and rather dull. She is utterly fascinating. She committed the murders; the murders are a profound mystery. Lizzie does not emerge as a coherent heroine. However, a few coherent elements in the story stand out, and this is the stuff of legend. Bruce Rosenberg, in writing about heroes in history, observes that a group of "narrative elements ... create a legend." It doesn't matter that most of the stories are inconceivable as history; what is important is that they are believed (page 84). The house on Second Street, the axe, the barn, the pear tree, the miser, the unemotional pale-eyed daughter are all more compelling than the inconsistencies. And to further please his readers, Pearson offered psychological puzzles, amusing narratives, and even the depths of human tragedy. Small wonder the legend entranced him more than mundane biography; small wonder he kept that legend alive.

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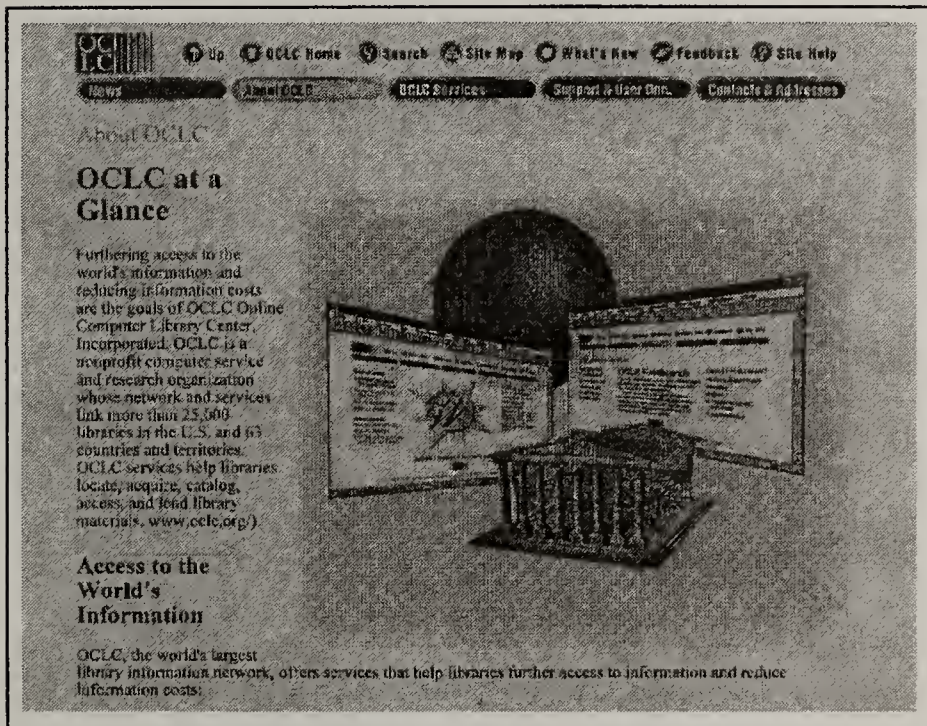
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Porter's 'Fall River Tragedy' - How Rare?

(Continued from Page 3)

Roughead. "I had little trouble in getting a copy of *The Fall River Tragedy*," he wrote, "and the cost was inconsiderable." In a follow-up letter he said, "Sending Porter's book was a trifle, it was easily obtained, and I still owe you for more than that!" Apparently the volume wasn't quite so rare seventy-odd years ago!

When initial consideration was given to the feasibility of creating an academic record for *The Fall River Tragedy*, I discovered my local library computer interfaced nationally with other library computers. At this time I also became aware of the existence of a national bibliographic database (OCLC) that could provide an institutional record of any book. The combined databases of the OCLC and the RLIN (Research Libraries Information Network) have been utilized in this study. It became apparent in the early part of the survey that some of the libraries were not distinguishing between the 1893 and facsimile publications on their computer printouts. The libraries in question were contacted by mail to clarify this discrepancy.



The Online Computer Library Center Web Site (OCLC)

The Internet address for the OCLC is:
<http://www.oclc.org/oclc/promo/4968ocgl/4968.htm>
Digital conversion by Bertolet Archives

Victoria Lincoln, in her publication, *A Private Disgrace*, had this to say about *The Fall River Tragedy*:

"The Reading Room copy in the Library of Congress seems to have vanished, but they have another in the Anglo-American Law Library. There is also one at the State House in Boston, and one in the possession of the Fall River Historical Society. I wish there were more for I would like to recommend it."

My survey of Porter's *The Fall River Tragedy* did not show a copy in the Anglo-American Law Library. In response to my inquiry, Ms. Barbara Morland, Chief of the National Reference Service at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., reported, "No record of the Anglo-American Law Library was found in the American Library Directory, the Directory of Special Libraries and Information Center, or the D.C. Telephone Directory."

Who Has Copies?

Universities, Libraries and Other Institutions

Arizona

1. *University of Arizona*
College of Law Library
PO Box 21176
Tucson, AZ 85721-0176
Donor Wilfred W. Forbes, May 5, 1978.

California

2. *Sutro Library* (a Division of the California State Library)
480 Winston Drive
San Francisco, CA 94132
Their copy is possibly a part of the original bequest of books given by the heirs of Adolph Sutro (d. 1898) prior to 1917. The inside back cover of the book is signed by 'James Smithies, 31 Lyon St., Fall River, Mass.' Fall River city directories indicate that Mr. Smithies, a grocer, moved from 7 Lyon Street to 31 Lyon sometime during 1895. Persons named Smithies lived at 31 Lyon Street at least until 1931.

Connecticut

3. *Connecticut State Library*
231 Capitol Avenue
Hartford, CT 06106-15379
Acquired September 24, 1924 from R.M. Barrett.
4. *Hartford Public Library*
Hartford, CT
OCLC Bibliographic Database indicates a copy exists at this location. Several written requests seeking confirmation were unanswered.
5. *Yale Law Library*
Yale University
New Haven, CT 06501
Research Library Information Network (RLIN) Bibliographic Database indicates a copy exists at this location. Several written requests seeking confirmation were unanswered.

Delaware

6. *University of Delaware Library*
Newark, DE 19717-5267
Their copy was purchased from a dealer in 1987. Has signature, "Mr. James Edward Hall, Fall River, Mass." On the verso of the front free end papers: "Stationer & Law Publisher, 41 State St., Rochester, NY."

District of Columbia

7. *Library of Congress*
National Reference Service
101 Independence Ave., S.E.
Washington, DC 20540-4720
A copy was acquired by exchange with the University of Missouri Law Library on February 5, 1931. A second copy, donor unknown, also exists at the library.

Kentucky

8. *University of Kentucky*
Law Library
Lexington, KY 40506

Acquired sometime between 1934 and 1949. Source J.D. Munroe, printer. There is a price (\$2.50) on the inner end sheet written in pencil.

Massachusetts

9. *Berkshire Law Library*
Court House, 76 East Street
Pittsfield, MA 01201
10. *Bristol Community College*
777 Elsbree Street
Fall River, MA 02720-7391
11. *Fall River Library*
104 North Main Street
Fall River, MA 02720-2122
12. *Fall River Historical Society*
451 Rock Street
Fall River, MA 02720
The *Fall River Historical Society* has three copies of *The Fall River Tragedy*, including Porter's personal volume. His copy has an original subscription list attached to a back page. This book was given to the Historical Society by a member of the local family who obtained it from the estate of Porter's daughter.

DATE	NAME	ADDRESS	BINDING	PRICE
	Mr. Jos. Reed	612 No Main	Green	1.50
	Mr. Dr. Brigham	Dorchester, Pottsville		
	Mr. Stephen P.			
	John Leonard	601 No Main		
	Huntton	35 Elm		
	Mr. Tolman	Elm st		
	John Norwith	44 Elm		

Subscription list found in Porter's copy of the book

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Digital conversion by *Bertollet Archives*

13. *Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine*
Boston/Harvard Medical Library
10 Shattuck Street
Boston, MA 02115-6089
The book exhibits a hand-written date and price: October 22, 1917, \$1.50.
14. *Harvard Law School Library*
Langdell Hall
Cambridge, MA 02138
Acquired April 23, 1901, from Williamson Law Book Co., Stationer & Law Publisher, 41 State Street, Rochester, NY.
15. *State Library Massachusetts/George Fingold Library*
State House
Boston, MA 02133
Original owner. Acquired February 28, 1894.
16. *University of Massachusetts*
University Library
Box 34711
Amherst, MA 01002
Copy acquired prior to 1970. Bears inscription, "FW from Romaine, North Middleboro, Sept. 1942."

17. *Widener Library (Harvard)*
Cambridge, MA 02138
Widener originally had two copies. Only one copy could be located (1997).

Michigan

18. *University of Michigan Library*
Harlan Hatcher Special Collections Library
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1205
Exchange item with Missouri University Library. Rebound into board and tape binding in 1935.
19. *University of Michigan*
Clements Library
Ann Arbor, MI 48109
Purchased from J.W. Medler, July 29, 1992.

Missouri

20. *University of Missouri*
The School of Law Library
Columbia, MO 65211
Acquired 1915 through the efforts of Professor John D. Lawson, who taught several law classes during the years 1891-1917. The lower bookplate indicates the book was purchased with funds donated by William Keeney Bixby.

New York

21. *Buffalo and Erie County Public Library*
Special Collections
Lafayette Square
Buffalo, NY 14203
Cataloged but currently missing (1997).
22. *Colgate University*
Hamilton, NY 13346
OCLC Bibliographic database indicates a copy exists at this location. Several written requests seeking confirmation were unanswered.
23. *Cornell Law Library*
Myron Taylor Hall
Ithaca, NY 14853-5301
Acquired February 16, 1900, from the Williamson Law Book Co., Stationers and Law Publisher, 41 State Street, Rochester, New York. The price was \$1.75.
24. *New York Public Library*
Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street
New York, NY 10018
25. *New York State Library*
State Education Department
Empire State Plaza
Albany, NY 12230
Acquired 1992.
26. *University of Rochester*
Rush Rhees Library
Rochester, NY 14269-0055
Acquired 1955 from Charles J. Parnell.

(Continued on next page)

Ohio

27. *Cincinnati Law Library Association*
601 Court House/1000 Main Street
Cincinnati, OH 45202
Book was recataloged in 1995, but is currently missing (1997).

Pennsylvania

28. *Free Library of Philadelphia*
1901 Vine Street
Philadelphia, PA 19103-1189

Rhode Island

29. *Providence Athenaeum*
251 Benefit Street
Providence, RI 02903
Acquired 1987.

Texas

30. *Southern Methodist University*
Degolyer Library
P.O. Box 750396
Dallas, TX 75275-0396
Donor E.L. Degolyer.

Private Ownership

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 1. Anonymous, Massachusetts | (2 copies) |
| 2. Mr. Maynard F. Bertolet, Pennsylvania | (1 copy) |
| 3. Mr. Neilson Caplain, Massachusetts | (1 copy) |
| 4. Mr. Stewart P. Evans, England | (1 copy) |
| 5. Mr. Robert Flynn, Maine | (1 copy) |
| 6. Ms. Ann W. Grayson, Maine | (1 copy) |
| 7. Mr. Richard Whittington-Egan, England | (1 copy) |

Summary

Known Institutional Ownership	
<u>Number Reported</u>	<u>Number Verified</u>
34	28
Known Private Ownership	
<u>Number Reported</u>	<u>Number Verified</u>
8	8
Known Total Ownership	
<u>Number Reported</u>	<u>Number Verified</u>
42	36

This summary does not pretend to be the last word on an inventory of *The Fall River Tragedy*. Anyone aware of the existence of the book in a library not cited in the survey is urged to communicate with the *Lizzie Borden Quarterly*. New holdings will be published at a later date.

Ms. Constance Mendes, of the *Fall River Historical Society*, informs me their Curator has stated there are at least 50 copies of the first edition in private collections in the area. Mr. Edward Thibault, Borden scholar, personally knows of at least 20 people who own the book.

Any individual owner of the 1893 edition of *The Fall River Tragedy* who wishes to be included in the survey should contact this magazine. Updated listings will be published in future issues of the *Lizzie Borden Quarterly*.

References:

1. *Proceedings Lizzie Borden Conference*
Jules R. Ryckebusch, Editor
King Philip Publishing Co., Portland, Maine 1992.
2. *Lizzie Borden on the Rare Book Market*
Patterson Smith, Pages 273-291
3. *Lizzie Borden: 100 Years of Fact, Conjecture and Fascination*
Robert A. Flynn, pages 293-301

Acknowledgments:

My appreciation to Mary Reynolds of the Fall River Library and to the many other librarians in the nation who supplied the information that has made this study possible.

Thanks to Stanley Itkin, Director, Hillside Public Library, New Hyde Park, NY, for the indispensable computer printouts.

Thanks also to Constance Mendes, Research Volunteer, and to Jamelle Tanous, Archivist for the Fall River Historical Society for their valuable information.

A special thanks to Booksellers Patterson Smith and Robert A. Flynn for guidance and advice during the preparation of this article.

LIZBITS

(Continued from Page 5)

I am indebted to the Fall River Historical Society where the courteous staff made available their files on Miss Lincoln and to two newspapers from which I derived a lot of the above information:

Baltimore Sun, June 15, 1981

Fall River Herald News June 16, 1981 and September 17, 1981

ANDREW BORDEN'S STINGINESS

In the last issue of the *Quarterly* my esteemed friends at the Historical Society sought to refute the long-existing understanding of Andrew Borden's stinginess (*Research Discovers an Unknown Side of Andrew Borden* by Jamelle Tanous and Dennis A. Binette).

The discovery of the Water Department Records is indeed well worth noting and thanks are due the authors of the article.

However, I would like to point out that running city water in the Borden house was installed only in the sink at the back door entry and in the basement water closet, never on the second floor or in any other place in the house.

In all the eighteen years between 1874 and 1892 no additions or improvements were ever made. Surely this is proof of Andrew Borden's penury, as accepted by each and every writer on the subject.



Other than that **RANDOM MURDER** years ago, our *hospitality is impeccable.*

A century ago, in August of 1892, an unassuming house at 92 Second Street, Fall River, Massachusetts, was destined to exist in infamy. Today, we invite you to visit and sleep the sleep of the dead in our beautifully restored Victorian atmosphere, peek into the nooks and crannies amidst the same walls that hold the secrets of that long ago day browse through book after book and learn of the city of Fall River, the families, the witnesses and all the players in this mystery ... still waiting to be solved. Roam the rooms that echo with the footsteps of Andrew...Abby...Bridget...Emma... Uncle John ... and Lizzie. Perhaps it is *your* destiny to find the final clue

Awaken to the enticing aromas of an old-fashioned breakfast, enjoy the running water in all the modern water closets, knowing you were one of the chosen to survive the night. At the antique breakfast table, smile wisely when asked to give your verdict. Take a final look around and lay down in Andrew's spot on the sofa ... Come to a living museum where history was made...



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Limited tickets available for our 2nd annual All Hallows Eve party.. Oct. 31 & Nov. 1...

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